
A
CAVEAT

Against the

WHIGGS.

Third Part
OF THE

A
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OF THE
CAVEAT
Against the
WHIGGS, &c.

Extract from the Report of the
Committee on the
State of the
Union, 1877
The Committee on the
State of the
Union, 1877
The Committee on the
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Union, 1877

Without any further delay
the Committee on the
State of the
Union, 1877
the Office of the
Secretary of the
Union, 1877

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 Against the
WHIGGS,
 In a Short
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
 OF THEIR
Transactions
 Since The
REVOLUTION.

Ille Crucem; scelevit pretium tulit, hic Diadema.

LONDON: Printed and Sold by J. Morphew near Stationer's-Hall. MDCCXII.

Price One Shilling.

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Third Part
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The Currents of the Revolution in the Discharge

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A Short
 HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
 OF THE
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 OF THE
 WHIGGS
 Since The
 REVOLUTION.

AFTER a perpetual Struggle of Eight and Twenty Years Continuance, we have once more seen the Abettors of the old Cause of Schism and Faction (notwithstanding the many Foils they had receiv'd) prevail at last in their pious Endeavours, so far as to expel a Monarch from his Throne, from whence he was driven to beg his Bread at a foreign Court ; but the Miseries of his Exile
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ought not indeed to be placed to their Account, who had they been able, would doubtless have made him as glorious a King as they did his Father.

The good Men went as far as they could, and if it was not in their Power to dignify him with the Title of a Martyr, he was at least beholden to them for that of a Confessor ; for if the dispossessing him of his Crown, was really an Action as meritorious as it has been thought, I cannot but ascribe the Honour of it to them, the Contrivance and Management of it was intirely their own, and when they found they were not able to go thro' with it by their own Force, nor the Assistance of their constant Friends the Dutch, it has been shewn what honest Pains were taken, to bring over a stronger Party to finish the long projected Work : But tho' the Hands of these were employ'd in it, they were so ignorant of its secret Steps, that they might have been justly interceded for in the Words of our Saviour, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*

However, these different Interests being thus united in this great Undertaking, it might have been expected their old Animosities would have died and have been buried in Oblivion. But like other Bodies of contrary Natures, tho' they seem'd incorporated together by the late violent Concussions, yet they quickly separated again ; as they join'd in bringing about the Revolution on very different Views, so when it was perfected, neither their Sentiments nor Designs were more uniform : The Churchmen thought the Constitution, both Civil and Religious, had receiv'd a Shake in the late Reign,
and

and was now revolv'd to its right Situation, whereby, if any Flaws had been made in it, they were willing to have them soder'd up in the best Manner possible; the others look'd on the Revolution, as what they had always aim'd at, an Overturning of the Monarchy, and were for breaking the old Constitution in Pieces, and for erecting in its Room, such a new *Babel* Fabric, as they had been long contriving. One Sort esteem'd the late Alteration only as a Repossession of their Rights, the other gloried in it as a Conquest; the former werè thankfully sensible of the Deliverance of their Religion, and hop'd to see the Church re-settl'd in a flourishing Condition, while the latter expected they should now be able to model her according to their own Fancies, or pull down her Walls and Fences to let her Enemies into possession. If those were pleas'd to see a Daughter of King *James* Partner in the Throne, and the Succession preserv'd in an Hereditary Entail, on the other, these no less rejoic'd to have deposed a Monarch, and made the Crown once Elective, which they hoped at another Opportunity to improve to their further Advantage; and according to these differing Notions, the several Parties shap'd their future Courses, which, as Lines from the same Centre toward several Points, the longer they were continu'd, the Wider was the Distance between them, as will be seen in the Sequel of these Papers.

But tho' all Sides hop'd to find their Account in what they had done, they were all in some Measure disappointed. The Church, which was then thought to be deliver'd from her Enemies, has since been in much greater Danger

from her pretended Friends, who yet have been so unable to prevail against her, that after rolling a Stone up a Hill, with unwearied Diligence ever since, they are now at last, much in the same Place they were in, at the Death of King *Charles II*, abating some great Estates acquired by the Plunder of the Public, and whether that has been a Gainer, I shall leave to those who are better skill'd in political Arithmetic.

We may here discover the Vanity of the busy Scenes of human Life, and see how easily that invisible Being, which governs all things here below, according to his good Pleasure, can turn the Wisdom of the Wise into Foolishness, defeat their best concerted Designs, and bring 'em to Ends directly contrary: But I have not Room to moralize, my present Business being to relate Matter of Fact, to which I shall therefore hasten, and leave to my Readers the Liberty of making their own Reflections.

The Whiggs having so much the elder Title to the Graces of the new King, and having made good Use of the Opportunities they had had of recommending themselves to his Favour: the Honours and Employments distributed in the Beginning of his Reign, were shared among them and the new-come Foreigners, a very small Number of the Church Party being taken in, either to reward such Services as had been too eminent to be disregarded, or to secure them in the Interest of the new Government. Of the first Sort, was the Earl of *Danby*, and among the last, may be number'd the Earl of *Nottingham*, Marquis of *Hallifax*, &c. But tho' some
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Places of the highest Trust and Honour were fill'd by these, yet they had very little of the King's Confidence, and were hunted by the adverse Faction till they were tired out, and glad to lie down in Quiet; so that the first Part of his Reign, when he was most a Stranger to the English Temper, was guided by the Maxims of those he had been longest acquainted with, who had gain'd so intire a Possession of him, that at last, when he labour'd under a Multitude of Inconveniences and Difficulties, in which their Conduct had involv'd him, the Manner of his quitting them shew'd, that it was done more out of Necessity than Choice; whereas, had he come over free from the Prejudices he had imbibed from them, a Prince of his quick Sight must have discern'd, that no Monarch can be happy here, but by a steady Adherence to those whose Principles are best adapted to the Support of the Monarchy and the establish'd Church, as all our late Princes have dearly enough, and some too dearly experienc'd.

When such were the Pilots, it was easy to guess what Course they would steer; it was something Ominous, that the first Fruits of recover'd Liberty should be a solemn Parliamentary Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, its greatest Barrier, by an Act pass'd as soon as the Convention was turn'd into a Parliament, to impower the King to apprehend and detain such as he should find Cause to suspect; a Power never thought fit to be trusted with any of his Predecessors; but that extraordinary Case required extraordinary Courses, which it is to be hop'd will never be drawn into precedent.

Upon taking the Oaths appointed by the Act for turning the Convention into a Parliament, many of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, most eminently zealous for the establish'd Church, had the Misfortune not to comply; these were scrupulous Persons, who having sworn Allegiance to the late King, according to the natural Sense of the Words, without any secret Reservations, thought those feeble Instruments still binding, and did not dare to deal by their Consciences, as Boys do by their Pot-guns, who drive out one Pellet by Ramming in another; so that most of them withdrew from the Attendance of the House.

The Whiggs, who are seldom guilty of losing Opportunities, made Use of this to increase the ill Impressions they had before given the King of that Party, whom they represented in general, as Enemies to his Government, recommending the Dissenters, and those who call themselves Moderate Church-men, as the best affected to him, and advising a Reliance on them, as the surest Way to strengthen his Foundation and support his Interest.

But tho' the Door of Preferment was open to the State Whiggs, the Test-Act stood as a Wall of Partition against the profess'd Dissenters; this therefore was to be taken away, that they might equally become Heirs of the Promise, and by uniting their Force, might be enabled to drive out the Bond-woman and her Sons.

The King having been bred a Calvinist, and having an old Kindness for the Seperatists here, this Advice was too easily swallow'd and attempted to be pursu'd in the following Manner.

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It being judg'd necessary, on the Alteration of the Government, to alter the Form of the Oaths to be taken by those, who^d should be admitted to Places and Employments. A Bill was *March 14:* brought into the House of Lords according to the King's Desire signify'd in Council. *For abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths in their Stead;* which having been twice read, The King came to the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, inform'd both Houses, *That he was filling up the Vacancies in Offices and Places of Trust, occasion'd by the late Revolution;* therefore recommended to their Care, to make a speedy Provision for the Oaths to be taken, in which, as he doubted not but they would sufficiently provide against Papists, so he hoped they would leave Room for the Admission of All Protestants, that were willing and able to serve, which Conjunction in his Service would tend to the better uniting them among themselves, and the strengthening them against their common Adversaries.

This was the boldest Stroke King James ever offer'd, and the Price it cost him was recent enough in Memory, but *Non quid, sed quis,* might have been the proper Motto of those Days; it was no Matter what was done, but who it was done by. We had now a Protestant King, who with great Labour and Hazard, was come over to rescue our Laws and Religion, to whom nothing ought to be denied. 'Tis true, he had declared his Opinion in *Fagel's* Letter, not much above a Year before, *That such a Repeal was contrary to the Laws and Customs of all Christian States whether Protestant or Papist, who admit none to share in the Government or public*

Employments, but those who profess the Establish'd Religion. And even in his Declaration, the free Parliament, which was pretended to be the Business of his Coming over, was to sit and prepare Laws for confirming and executing the Test, &c. But whether he disclos'd his real Sentiments then, or the Change of Affairs since, with the Insinuations of those who had his Ear, had really wrought so great and suddain an Alteration, take it either Way, it had not been in any other Person very justifiable.

Upon this Speech of his Majesty, a select Committee of the Lords was appointed to draw two Clauses, one *to explain the Abrogating the said Oaths*, the other, *to take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament, to make a Man capable of having an Office.* But notwithstanding the Advantage they imagined they were possess'd of, by the Absence of so many of the Church Party, there was yet so great a Number left to defend the Ark against the *Philistines*, that this last Clause was rejected by a great Majority; and the strenuous Efforts of the Lord *Wharton*, *Delamere*, *Stamford* and others who stickled very hard for it, prov'd in vain.

However, the losing this Point did but whet their Courage to make another Attempt in Favour of their dear Friends the Dissenters, by inserting in the same Bill, a Clause *to free those who were to be admitted into any Office or Employment from the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament, in such Manner as is appointed by an Act made the 25th of Charles II. (that is according to the Church of England) provided a Certificate were deliver'd of their having received the Sacrament in any Protestant Congregation, under the Hands*
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of a Minister and two other credible Persons; but after some warm Debates, in which the Abrogation of the Test was urg'd on the same Arguments, which had been in Vogue in the last Reign, this Clause was likewise rejected, and the Bill sent down to the Commons without it.

The Church Party, who in the late Reign had felt the Stone which bruised them, but had not discover'd the Arm which sent it, had made Advances to the Dissenters, in hopes to prevail with them not to fall in with the *Papists*, in which, tho' they were disappointed, yet now, to witness they retain'd the due Tenderness they had then express'd, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, but five Days after their Majesties were proclaim'd, to turn the Edge of the Laws, by exempting Protestant Dissenters from several Penalties, which the Provocations they had given the Government in former Reigns, had but too justly laid them under; and not only so, but a Comprehension Bill was brought in *for uniting their Majesties Protestant Subjects*: The former of these was pass'd into an Act, without the least Opposition; but by the other, it being endeavour'd to make many Alterations and Innovations in the establish'd Religion, in order to oblige the Dissenters, who desired no such Favour, if they could but get rid of the Test, whereby they hop'd to be put into a Condition of disputing these Points in another Manner.

While these Matters were depending, this barefac'd Carriage of the Dissenters, with the King's visible Partiality towards them, and the Unwillingness he had discover'd, to swear
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at his Coronation, to maintain the Church of England as by Law establish'd, did justly alarm those, in the Lower House of Parliament, who had any Care of its Safety and Interest, which Sort we found much more numerous there also than was expected, insomuch, that they agreed on an honest Address which being approv'd by the Lords, was presented by both Houses, in which they did, *with utmost Duty and Affection, render to His Majesty, their most humble and hearty*

April 19. *Thanks for his gracious Declaration and repeated Assurances, that he would maintain the Church of England establish'd by Law, which His Majesty had been pleas'd to recover from the dangerous Conspiracy that was laid for its Destruction, with the Hazard of His Royal Person, they added, that the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of England had evinced their Loyalty beyond the Contradiction of her most malicious Enemies, and that the Misfortunes of former Princes could be attributed to nothing more than their Endeavours to subvert and disable the Members thereof, for contributing to their Support and Defence. They therefore pray'd His Majesty to continue his Care for the Preservation of the same, whereby he would effectually establish his Throne, by securing the Hearts of His Majesty's Subjects, within these his Realms, who could no Way better shew their Zeal for his Service, than by a firm Adherence to that Church, whose Constitution is best suited to the Support of this Monarchy. They likewise humbly pray'd, that according to the ancient Usage and Practice of the Kingdom in Time of Parliament, His Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to issue forth his Writs for calling a Convocation of the Clergy, to be advised in Ecclesiastical Matters, assuring His*

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Majesty, that it was their Intention forthwith to proceed to the Consideration of giving Ease to Protestant Dissenters.

The Faction, having according to Custom, magnify'd their Strength and Numbers, this Address was so little expected, that the King return'd no Answer to it till the next Day, which was such as he now found could not be well avoided, with a Promise, that as soon as might be, he would summon a Convocation: But this was not done till the next Session of the Parliament, for some Reasons which we shall soon discover.

This Act for appointing the Oaths was design'd, not only to introduce the Dissenters, but like a two edg'd Sword, to cut the Church of *England* both Ways; it was very well known that there were considerable Numbers, especially among the Clergy of both Orders, who had favour'd the Prince of *Orange's* Invasion, by an innocent Belief of the Expressions in his Declaration, without imagining that he had any Design upon the Crown, and tho' the greater Number of them were ready to yield a chearful Submission to the Present Power, yet in Regard of their former Oaths and avow'd Principles, they were not able to force their Consciences to go contrary to both, so far as to take the new Oaths. This being foreseen by each Party, the Friends of the establish'd Religion apprehending the ill Consequences of it, would either have had the Clergy excus'd from taking the Oaths, as being daily oblig'd in their Prayers to make solemn Declarations of their Fidelity to the King and Queen by Name, or at least, that the Oaths should be tender'd in Council, and left to the

the King's Discretion, as was done in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; but neither of these Offers would pass with those who were too well acquainted with the Use of that political Maxim, *Divide & Impera*. The Firmness and Resolution wherewith these very Men had lately stood in the Breach and defended their Religion, in a Time of the extremest Danger, tho' it had contributed more than any thing else, to facilitate the P. of O-----'s Expedition, was of no Avail to them now; all that could be obtain'd in Favour of the most eminent of them, after Abundance of Argument, was to get a Clause inserted, whereby it was left to the King to allow such of the Clergy, as should refuse to take the Oaths appointed by that Act, as he should think fit, not exceeding the Number of twelve, an Allowance out of their Ecclesiastical Benefices or Promotions for their Subsistence, not exceeding a third Part, and to continue during His Majesty's Pleasure, and no longer.

But they needed not to have been so strait lac'd, for had the same Liberty of Allowance been made to 1200, it had not cost a Farthing more, never so much as one having enjoy'd the least Benefit of it, but after the Expiration of the Time limited, which was the first of *August* following, were, without further Ceremony, turn'd out to starve with their Families, or shift as they were able. Some of those who were call'd the Golden Candlesticks, being only favour'd with a bare Suspension at first, before they were quite thrown aside as Lumber.

In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the Popish Bishops and Clergy were displac'd, the Commissioners were empower'd to assign *Pensio-*

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siones legitimas, congruas & competentes cedentibus vel resignantibus: And even the Usurper Cromwell, in the Act which he made to eject the orthodox Ministers, and to that Purpose appointed Commissioners in every County to see it done, had yet so much Humanity as to provide, That in Case the Minister so displac'd, had no other temporal Estate sufficient to maintain his Wife and Children, the Commissioners should allow to the Wife and Children of such Minister so ejected, for their Maintenance, a Proportion not exceeding the fifth Part of the Profits of such Benefice, which the Commissioners were authoriz'd to cause to be paid, and in Default from Time to Time, to sequester the Profits for the Payment thereof, and all Charges about the same, and this to continue during the Life of the ejected Minister; but this, it seems was too great a Favour to be allow'd now to those, who were better intitl'd to it, than in either of the former Cases.

Thus was the Church deprived of several of her brightest Luminaries, Men of as exemplary Piety, sound Doctrine and solid Learning, as she has at any time produc'd, to make Room for those who were fitter for the Purposes in Hand, which it is not difficult to guess at, when such Men were to be shut out, and Dissenters to be comprehended upon their own Terms, for they never offer'd any other.

The Prince of Orange in his Declaration complain'd of the evil Councillors of King James, that they took Care to raise none to Ecclesiastical Dignities, but Persons who had no Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and hid their Unconcernedness for it under the specious Pretence of Moderation; but if we explain the Pro-

Protestant Religion as here establish'd, this also which was then a Crime, became afterwards a Vertue: This was the *Passepartout*, this very Shibboleth of the Party and the Test of all those who were to be promoted into any of the Sees or Preferments to become vacant, either by Death or Deprivation, and under this specious Pretence, there lay hid so great an Indifference, both for the Religious or Civil Establishment, that it has been observed by collecting the Votes of the Peers, that of thirty four Lords Spiritual and Temporal, created and rais'd to the Order of Nobility, in the Reign of King *William*, scarce above five ever gave a Vote for the Service or Interest of the Church or Civil Constitution in any critical Question which concern'd 'em, the ill Consequences of which are yet felt, and lately went very near the Ruin and Subversion of both.

So that only the Hand was chang'd which held the Cards, but the Game was carried on in the same Manner against the Church, and King *William* was by the same Guides, led on in these dangerous Steps of his unfortunate Predecessor, in which, the Fears of Popery being blown over, our Deliverer was able to make a greater Progress in two Months, than our Oppressor in twice so many Years; however, notwithstanding this Advantage, they have not yet been able to attain their Journey's End, which, had Providence suffer'd 'em to do, we may, by taking a transient View of the Condition of our Neighbour Nation, see what we might have expected from them.

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To this Purpose I shall take a Journey Northwards, and give a short Account of the Affairs of *Scotland*, before and since the Revolution. It is well known in what Manner the Episcopal Church in both Kingdoms, fell a common Sacrifice to the Fanatical Rage of the Covenant, which being form'd in the North, like a Cloud darken'd the Face of the whole Island, but when these Storms had spent their Fury, and our *Halcyon* Days return'd, Episcopacy was under the Conduct of the wise Ministry then in Power, resettled there in the Year 1662, as it had been before in *England*, after which, the fiery Temper of the Presbyterians being frequently blown up by their seditious Preachers, not only to riotous, armed Field-Meetings, but open Rebellions, and these proving unsuccessful, every Struggle of theirs against the Government, consequently drew a heavier Pressure of the Laws upon them, and in Detestation to these pernicious Practices and Principles, the Crown became gradually invested with larger Powers to prevent and crush them, as the only Way to secure the publick Peace, by which Means, the Prerogative was raised to a higher Pitch there, than in *England*.

When King *James* came to the Crown, the Loyal Party there being intirely possess'd of the Places and Power under it, his late Residence among them, and their respectful Carriage towards him, gave him so good an Opinion of his Interest, as prevail'd with him to attempt an Abrogation of the penal Laws there in the first place, as a Step towards the easier effecting the same in *England*: But tho' the *Papists* and Dissenters join'd in it there as well as here, it was de-

defeated by the Episcopal Party, but still with great Dutifulness to the King, and good Manners to his Representative; yet this Repulse occasioned the Dissolution of the Parliament, and about ten Months after, King *James* was pleas'd, by a Proclamation, to suspend those Laws, and allow an Exercise of Worship to Papists and other Dissenters, to which it being apprehended, that by the Laws in Force, this dispensing Power could not be legally withstood, both Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church, quietly submitted, which made their Case vary from that of their Brethren in *England*, so much, that they were not to be dealt with about a Revolution.

But tho' the Dispensation there having a fairer Face of Legality, render'd the Acceptance of it more excusable in the Scottish Whiggs, it lays a blacker Stain of Baseness and Ingratitude upon their Defection from him, by whose Grace they enjoyed their Liberty, for which, in their canting Addresses they wheedled him no less, than our Saints here, comparing him to the great Deliverers of God's People in the Old Testament; yet having turn'd him out of Doors as a Reward for his Kindness, he was without any Alteration in himself, ten Times worse than *Ahab*, *Jehu* or *Jeroboam*, which ought to be a Warning to all Kings and Princes, how they trust them for the future.

For even in the hot Fit of their pretended Loyalty and good Humour, these true Self-deniers were carrying on a factious Correspondence with their Fugitive Country-men, and especially one since unworthily dignify'd with the Mitre, in Order to prepare Matters for

for a Revolution there, which being brought to Maturity, at the same Time the Declaration was sent over to *England*, another Piece out of the same Loom was committed to the Care of those who were ready to receive it in *Scotland*.

I confess, I have not seen the Declaration calculated for that Kingdom, but by some loose Passages extracted out of it, and by the *Innuendo's* in the Penultimate Paragraph of the English Declaration, there seems to have been no Measures kept with that, which was then the National Religion establish'd by several Acts of Parliament from the professors of which, to say the Truth, they had little Reason to expect any Assistance; for not to mention the Loyalty of their Principles, they had no provocation to rebel, since even among the Fardle of Grievances rak'd together by the Scottish Convention (except the bringing a few Papists into Employments, which are there still in a smaller Proportion than in England) there is not one, but might have served as well for *Argyle* or the good Protestants at *Bothwel Bridge*, being only the Laws made and the Measures taken in the Reign of *K. Charles 2d.* to curb the rebellious Humour of the Presbyterians, and secure the Church and State.

Had the Dissenters aim'd at nothing further, than a free Exercise of Worship in their own Way, and the Enjoyment of their Properties, they had no more Occasion than the others; but Root and Branch is the Word when ever they dare speak their Minds. The Fewel being ready prepared, the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration served as a Firebrand to

light it; and their Mob thus fired, raged with uncontrouled Fury, insulting and rifling, not only Papists, but Churchmen, in all Places, where they were encouraged by their own Strength, or the Cowardise or Connivance of those who ought to have Supress'd them.

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In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange* coming to *London*, the Scottish Outlaws who had joyn'd in his Expedition, and some others of that Nation, then in Town, by their own Authority forming themselves into an Assembly, drew up an Address, wherein they desired him to take upon him the Administration of the Government of that Kingdom, and to call a Convention of the Estates thereof, to meet the 14th of *March* following, which was done accordingly.

In this Convention, the Members of the whole Estate of Burghs, formerly elected by the Magistrates and Council of those Boroughs, which had the Priviledge of sending Representatives to Parliament, were chosen in a Manner new and unknown. For the Prince of *Orange* expressly Ordered each of the Burghs to Chuse its Commissioner by the Poll, which put the whole Matter into the Hands of the Mobb, and they by their Leaders were directed, who were fittest for the Purpose, and most devoted to the Interest of him, who had invested them with this new Power, which however necessary at that Time, was look'd upon as a breaking in upon the Constitution, and a manifest Violation of the standing Laws and Customs in such Elections; and what the King himself could not have done at least without a Parliament.

At the Day appointed, the Convention met, tho' many, especially of the Bishops and greater Barons or Peers were afraid to obey their Summons, the Prince being a stranger, and having, as they conceived, no lawful Authority to Summon any such Meeting: And for the same Reason, many, who did come, left it when they found they were not to Act by the King's Authority, but by that of a stranger; thinking it to be an unlawful Assembly, and several of them protesting against it as such.

The ill Success of their Proceeding in this Manner, shews how necessary it is on some Occasions, for Men to joyn in what they do not approve, that they may be enabl'd to serve their Religion or Country; this stands as an irrefragable Justification of some, who acted under King James's Ecclesiastical Commission, and had those, who had a Right to sit in this Meeting, had so much Courage or Consideration as to have come and continu'd there, they had infallibly prevented the following Alterations in Religion, and the Ruine of Episcopacy in Scotland, which is wholly owing to this fatal Desertion.

For hereby, the *Presbyterians* getting the Majority, had an Opportunity of managing their Designs with the less Opposition, and being once possess'd of it, contrary to their own Hopes and Expectations, they had Wit enough to keep it, for some, who had left them, being on second Thoughts, willing to return, neither Right nor Reason, could procure the Admittance of any, who were not altogether such as themselves.

So that the chosen People only remaining, their Number was so small, that they look'd more like a Committee, than the Representa-

tive of a Nation; and of those few, several legally incapacitated, lying under the Sentence of Forfeiture and Banishment for High Treason, fate and voted without being restored or indemnified; yet by this Conventicle, (which the Loyal Party might perhaps look upon as the Fag End, or a Rump of a Convention) their lawful King was declared roundly (according to their Principles) to have forfeited his Crown; and *Episcopacy* voted *a great and insupportable Burthen, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People.* after which the Crown being settled, in the same Manner, as in *England*, and the Convention turn'd into a Parliament their first Act next to that for Recognition of the King and Queen, was to abolish Prelacy or any Order in the Church above Presbyters.

Thus fell the Episcopal Order in *Scotland*, but no new Form of Church Government being agreed on, till almost a Twelvemonth after, during that space of time, the Church lay like the primitive Chaos, without Form, and void, but was afterwards lick'd into the Ugly Shape of Presbytery.

But in this Interval they were not idle, their first Business was, to set their trusty Tools the Rabble at work, with all those Ministers who were possess'd of any of the Benefices from which, the Presbyterian *Mess Johns* had been driven, as they call'd it since the Year 1661, and to restore the old Incumbents, which in the Western Parts especially, where the Mobb of that Perswasion was the most Numerous, was done with that Violence, Cruelty and Barbarity, as might be expected from such a Crew, let loose, to Act according

according to their own brutal Natures, but cannot be here express'd.

The loud Complaints they have made of the hard Case of their Ministers turn'd out in the Reign of King *Charles* the 2d, of which King *William*, or the Penman of his Declaration for that Kingdom, was pleased to say, that the Dissenters in Scotland *had just Cause of Distrust, when they should call to Mind, how some Hundreds of their Ministers were driven out of the Churches, without either Accusation or Citation,* makes me think it necessary to look Backward into that Matter: After the former Extinction of Prelacy in the Reign of the Covenant, and after the Death of the Royal Martyr, the pretended Parliament, which sat there in the Year 1649, in order to a Godly thorough Reformation, made an Act whereby the Ancient uninterrupted Right of Patrons in Presenting to Benefices in their Patronage, was unjustly invaded, and the Election of the Ministers devolved on the Mobb, who were easily managed to follow their Bellweathers in those popular Elections; but after the happy Restoration of King *Charles* 2d, when every one was restored to his just Rights and Liberties, an Act was pass'd, *that if all such Ministers as had in that illegal Manner, possess'd themselves of any Benefits since the Year 1694, should not obtain a Presentation from the Patron (which he was thereby obliged to give, to such as should make due Application) and a Collation from the Bishop of the Diocess, before the 20th of September 1662. the Patrons should have Liberty to present till the 20th of March 1663. after which*

which Time, the Presentation should fall to the Bishop, according to former Laws.

Notwithstanding that this Act was as peremptory as it was just and reasonable, yet many of those Ministers, who had entred illegally after the Year 1649, turn'd obstinate, from what Principle I am not now to enquire, and refused to take the Benefit offer'd by the Act of Parliament against the Time prefix'd. And therefore the Privy Council meeting at *Glascom*, after the time was expired, in pursuance of the Design of the Act of Parliament, made an Act, declaring all such Churches, *ipso facto*, vacant. Immediately upon the Publication of which Act, most of them deserted their Flocks, perhaps out of a vain Conceit, that the Church could not be served without them; and this was the Hardship, which was put upon them without Accusation or Citation, which how necessary in this Case, I leave to the Consideration of any indifferent Person; but to return.

After they had thus rabbled, many of the Episcopal Ministers, and restored the old illegal Intruders, lest any of the injur'd Gentlemen should seek Redress in a legal Course, for the Insults and Damages they had suffer'd, an Act of Council was emitted in December 1689, prohibiting the Courts of Justice to take Cognizance of any such Causes; and thus without Accusation or Citation, they were not only thrust from their Stations by lawless Force, and Violence, but precluded from the Benefit of the Law, and the common Right of Subjects.

This was follow'd by an Act of Parliament to restore the old Ministers, not only those, who

who had left their Cures as above, but all such as had fled for Sedition or Rebellion, which was modestly called, *not complying with the Courses of the Time* and tho' this Act was made in April 1690. they were to enter to the half Years Profits, payable at *Michaelmas* 1689: So that the poor Episcopal Minister was to be thrust out naked with his Family, and not only deprived of his Future Subsistence, but of his Stipend, for which he had labour'd and perform'd the Duties of his Function the whole Year before, all which was put in Execution with the utmost Severity.

These things being considered, it is no Wonder if the Episcopal People in *Scotland* were less passionately fond of the Revolution, or not so well affected to it as their Friends here, may wish they were; so that very few of them comply'd with the New Oaths, and this ridded the Saints of a great Number more, which were Eye Sores to them, after which their Assemblies and Kirk Judicatories being Erected, they proceeded against several others on pretence of Scandal or Insufficiency, in which, if some Accounts, that have been made public may be relied on, they have not follow'd the Dictates either of Justice, Reason, Religion or Conscience and thus they went on garbling by Degrees; those who escap'd the Rabble, the Acts of Parliament took, and what they spar'd, the Kirk destroy'd; so that in a very little Time, there were not above 140 Ministers of the Episcopal Perswasion left in the Possession of any benefice in the Kingdom, and those chiefly in the North, where the others, did neither dare nor care to come, but as to the Bishops, the first Blast blew them away, and to prevent their Return,

Cassandra
Part 1st,
Fol. 53.

their Revenues were annexed to the Crown and afterwards, for the most Part, parcell'd out in Grants among the Meek, who are to Inherit the Earth, of which the Godly Mr. *Carstares*, one of the *Ryehouse* Plotters, now Head of the College at *Edinburgh*, and Agent here for the Presbyteries, enjoy's the whole Revenues of the Bishopric of *Dunblane*, by Grant from *King William*, to secure which Possessions they have made it Capital to speak or write in Defence of that exploded Order.

Vid. Declaration
Art. 26.

This is the Manner in which the Promise of that Prince was performed, *that he would restore the ancient Constitution in Scotiand, and bring Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the People might live easy and happy, and the same Favour we should have met with, if they had been able to carry on their Designs to the same Length in England, of which, no small Hopes were grafted on these Northern Alterations, from whence they certainly expected the same Fruit which they gather'd once before. For however favourably some Men might think of our Dissenters here, in that Honey Moon, the Character a worthy Divine gives of them, is universally true in all Times and Places, that they are Silent and Crafty when overpower'd, but Loud and Cruel when they prevail; Lambs when they list, and Lions when they can. But as Affairs now stand, if I may presume to give my Opinion, the Abolition of the Episcopacy in Scotland, abstracting the Injustice and Violence wherewith it was attended, was the most unfortunate of all the false impolitic Steps taken in that Reign, which God knows, were not a few: The Union of the two Kingdoms, which was*

was then in View as a Part of their Godly Schemes, and has since at a more favourable Juncture, been happily concluded, being hereby render'd imperfect and incompleat; the Consequences whereof we may justly fear, but only the Eye of Providence can foresee or prevent.

It is not Strange, that those *Willow's wisps* who could mislead the *King* nearer Home should bewilder him there. if he was a Stranger to the English Affairs, he was much more unacquainted with those of that Nation, of which he neither saw nor heard any thing, but by the Eyes and Ears of others, who represented every thing thro' a false *Medium* and magnified the Strength and Number of the *Presbyterians*, as far exceeding that of the *Episcopal Perswasion*; whereas in Truth, the Generality of the Nobility and Gentry, and except only in the *West*, the greatest Part of the Commonalty did then, and notwithstanding all the Discouragement they have met with, do still adhere to the latter; which the Heads of the Whiggish Faction themselves were so sensible of, that it was never thought fit to trust the People to a free Election of their Representatives; but the same Parliament, which laid the Saddle of Presbytery on their Backs, sate as a dead Weight upon them all that Reign, since which Time, the Elections for that Part of *Britain* prove to a Demonstration, on which Side the Ballance of Strength still continues.

But the Care of the Faction, to promote the Interest of their Cause, was not confin'd to *Great Britain*; there may be many Instances of it produc'd as far as the *West Indies*; but I shall only take Notice of one in an Island nearer Home, at the same Time, when the least Part
of

vid: Repre-
sentation of
Irish Convo-
cation.

of the Revenues taken from the Episcopal Clergy in *England* and *Scotland*, was too much to be allow'd to any of them: A Royal Bounty of 1200 *l. per Annum*, settled on the Establishment was paid throughout that Reign, to the Dissenting Clergy in *Ireland*, for the Support of Faction and Schism there, whereby, and by other Encouragements, they have not only been embolden'd, openly in their Sermons, to traduce the Orders and Worship of the Church, but without Fear of Law, have incorporated into distinct Communities, forming themselves in to Sessions and Synods, as Courts of Judicature, in which they decide, without Appeal, and exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in a solemn and public Manner; which, without sufficient Authority, would be no less than a *præmunire* in any Members of the established Church; but 'tis hop'd the Care of the Parliament there, which has thought fit to vote this Allowance unnecessary, will also prevent its Effects.

I fear I have made too long an Excursion, and shall therefore return Home, where we left the Convention Parliament sitting; who after the Check, the Faction had met with in their design'd Alterations in Matter of Religion, went to reversing several Attainders and Judgements in the two last Reigns, which whether wrong or right, must now bear the Blame; among which, modest Mr. *Johnson* was made *Rectus in Curia*, and recommended for Preferment, which encouraged even *Titus Oates* to think this was a fair Opportunity for him to wash the Blackmoor, and pau'm himself upon the World for a Man of Veracity, and so far he, or rather the Humour of the Times carried it

on, that the longest and toughest Debates between the two Houses, this Session, was on that worthless Subject; but the Lords at last insisting on the Validity of the Verdict and deeming the Severity of the Judgement only erroneous, *Titus* continued the same Man on Record he was every where known to be; however, his Friends remembering how useful his Plot had been to them, gratefully procured his Pardon, with the comfortable Addition of a Pension of *500* per Week for smart Money.

By this Time, the War was proclaim'd against France. A foreign War is always useful at such a Season, to unite the jarring Interests against a common Enemy, evacuate ill Humours and attract the Eyes of the People, to keep them from prying too near into the Business of the State: But in this Case, it was of Necessity more than Choice, being the Basis, on which the new Government was erected, yet the King was so prudent as to have it done at the Desire of the People, in an Address procured from their Representatives, which was sure to meet with a gracious Answer; for which, having raised the necessary Supplies, at last taking the Advantage of a thin House, when most of the Members were retired into the Country, they thought of the Business first recommended by the King, *March 8.* who in his second Speech told them, *of the Necessity of assisting the States of Holland, who had been so ready to relieve us, at so great Hazard and Expence, from the Extremities we lay under, in which they had really exhausted themselves to such a Degree, both as to Men and Money, as was not to be imagined. And therefore, says he, I am confident your Generosity will have as little Bounds towards them,*

them, as theirs had towards you; and that you will not only enable me to make good the Treaty with them, and repay what they have laid out upon this Occasion, but that you will further support them to the Utmost of your Ability against the Power of their Enemies, who must be yours too by their Interest and by their Religion.

vid. John
Bull.

Had our Deliverance been as great it as was imagin'd, it might have been remembred to whom that Republic, in its Infancy, ow'd not only its well being, but Existence; and tho' England had then no Occasion or Expectation of Assistance from thence, yet the Charges she was at were never repaid; so that this had only been discharging Part of an old Debt: But the Case was really now of much nearer Concern to them than to us, they had no Possibility of preserving themselves a free People without the Help of England, which they thus procured, whereas our Condition, (however dangerous they and their Friends would have had us thought it) was not so bad, but we possibly might have had a Remedy nearer Home and perhaps, at an easier Rate; but if we were cur'd of the Headach by them, they were rescued by us from the Jaws of Death; yet our Parliament nobly paid them 600000 *l.* for doing their own Business: A sufficient Earnest of our future Generosity, which has since had as little Bounds, as any thing but a Dutch Conscience could desire, and will probably be as well rewarded by that grateful People, as our former Kindnesses to them have been.

The Act for paying of the States General, pass'd the 28th of *August*, and now those who had sat so long and done so well, might reasonably

expect a Time of Recess, for which, the Commons, by Mr. *Powle* their Speaker *became humble Suiters* to His Majesty, who, in Pursuance thereof, having pass'd this and some other Acts, directed the Speaker of the House of Lords to signify his Pleasure, *that both Houses should severally adjourn themselves to the 20th of September*, on which Day they were further adjourn'd to the 19th of *October* following.

This Cessation, by Way of Adjournment, was undoubtedly intended to keep those Matters on Foot, which were depending before the Parliament, among which, was the *Comprehension Bill*, before taken Notice of; but tho' they met at the Time appointed, and the King made his Speech to them; yet by a sudden Turn of Councils, the Parliament was, on the one and twentieth of *October*, prorogued for two Days only: Whether it was apprehended that the Heats, raised in the last Session on this Bill and other Affairs being by these Adjournments only raked up in the Embers, might now break out with greater Violence, to prevent which, they were therefore to be thus extinguish'd, or for what other Reasons this Course was taken, I am not able to say; but this good for nothing Bill thus made its *Exit*, and has never since return'd, at least as I can hear of.

I might perhaps give it something more than a negative Epithet, for the Project indeed seems to me, not like hunting Butterflies, but Hornets; a Work difficult and Childish in the Undertaking; and not only unprofitable, but dangerous if it should succeed. It has been often Attempted before, and I believe never more in Earnest, than in the Beginning of the Reign of
King

King *Charles 2d.* the *Presbyterians* had then sensibly felt the ill Consequence of the Breaches, they themselves had made in the Constitution both of Church and State, at which an inundation of Sects had entred and overwhelm'd them in the Ruines, the wounds receiv'd on each Side in those fatal Conflicts yet smarted and the Blood they had lost, might be supposed to reduce both Churchmen and Presbyterians to such a Coolness of Temper as might facilitate an Accommodation, which both seem'd to desire, and the latter protesting themselves willing to submit to Episcopacy and the Use of the Liturgy, with some Restrictions and Alterations, to try if these could be agreed on, a Commission was pass'd under the Great Seal, directed to some Bishops and Divines of the Church of England and as many of the other Perswasion.

The *Savoy* was the Place appointed for the Conference, where the *Presbyterian Rabbies* first making a kind of Protest, that whatever should be agreed on by them, was only to be look'd on as the Act of so many private Persons, and to be no further obligatory (they having no Commission from any of their Brethren.) Any further proceeding seem'd to be to very small purpose, all the Concessions that could be made, being only to Affect about a dozen Persons, and these by their wrangling and cavilling, declaring all that could be offer'd unsatisfactory, as their Parliament had done before, seem'd unwilling to conclude even themselves, and like the Managers of some Modern Treaties of Peace more fearful than desirous of coming to an Agreement; which Behaviour was occasion'd, (as one who shews himself no Enemy to them informs

us) by their depending too much on the Encourage-^{vid. Hist.}
 ment they had received from the King and his of Engl.
 Ministers, on the Assurances given them by some Vol. 3d.
 leading Members of Parliament, and on the
 Affections of the People, in all which (says he)
 they were mistaken, as much as in the Merits of
 their Cause.

But tho' the Conference came to nothing, the
 Liturgy was reviewed in Convocation and esta-
 blished by the Act ——— in which
 there being a Vomit prescrib'd, to bring the
 Covenant off from the Stomachs of those Mi-
 nisters, who had swallow'd it, a great Number,
 rather than abjure that unlawful Oath, left their
 Benefices; after which, their turbulent sediti-
 ous Carriage obliging the Government to keep
 a strict Hand over them for its own Safety.

About the middle of that Reign, the same
 Design was again set on foot, and several good
 Men then came into it, moved by a charitable
 Compassion to some, who suffer'd under the Penal
 Laws, or a Notion of strengthening the Prote-
 stant Interest against the Apprehensions of Po-
 pery, which were now industriously infused, but
 it was opposed by others of as great Merit on
 more substantial Reasons. They thought Inno-
 vations dangerous, and could not see why the
 Constitution of a Church, so well establish'd,
 and fix'd upon such mature Deliberations, should
 be prostituted to the Cavils or Clamours of self-
 will'd Opiniaters, without either Scripture,
 Reason or Authority, for any Thing demanded:
 They fear'd that a Faction in the Church would
 be more dangerous than the Schism from it,
 and were not for pulling down her Walls to
 let in this Trojan Horse, fraught with Enemies,
 which

which could do us no Harm whilst kept out. They thought, if some Alterations were to be made in Compliance with the Humour of one Party, another Party might demand other Concessions with as good Reason, which frequent Shifting might shake those of our own Communion, and tempt them to go over to the Church of *Rome*, as more constant and true to her self; but had they been of a more yielding Temper, it had come to nothing; for after this, Alderman *Love* moving in the House of Commons, that they would open their Doors wider to let in such Protestant Dissenters as were willing to come in upon reasonable Terms, The House readily received the Motion, and gave the *Alderman* a Fortnight's Time to know what Terms the Dissenters would propose; which Time being elapsed, he made his Report very frankly, *That truly they cou'd agree on no Terms, for what one liked, another opposed, &c.* The English of which is, that their Aim being to gain the whole Power both in Church and State to themselves, they must keep up a Difference, in which their Pretence is Conscience, but Empire their Design.

This was made appear some time after, by the same Mr. *Love*, who, when the Face of the Public Affairs look'd with a more favourable Aspect towards the Dissenters, moved for their being restored to their Birth-rights, (as he called it) as if a Man was born to be a Judge, or a Privy-Councillor, &c.) and the Priviledge of English-men, to enjoy Places and Preferments; upon which, he being told, that this was contrary to what he had before affirmed, That the Dissenters aimed at no more than a Toleration, reply'd

replied, *But our Party is stronger now than it was at that time* : In which Answer, (tho' perhaps they would not all have open'd themselves so freely) yet he express'd that which is the real Sense and Meaning of the whole Party, who, as they increase in Strength, ever did and ever will, rise in their Demands, till they have ingross'd the Power into their own Hands; the only Way to prevent which, and to live peaceably with 'em, is to keep 'em out of the Reach and Prospect of that delicious Morsel.

But it might possibly be thought now, that the *Dissenters* were much mended in their Dispositions, that the *Ethiopian* had chang'd his Skin and the Leopard his Spots, and having lovingly lent their Hand to help us out of the Ditch, into which they themselves had push'd us, they had strangely won our Hearts and were to be pleased at any Rate. The late Dismal Apprehensions of *Popery*, made an Union of Protestants, seem more necessary for the Defence of their common Interest and a Nod of Approbation from the Throne, was enough to direct those who had fix'd their Eye on Preferments. So that tho' this Healing, Uniting Bill seem'd to be Shipwreck'd by the Prorogation, the Project went on and the Storms it had met with, did not Discourage the Adventures from pursuing their Voyage, by another Course.

The *Parliaments* Address to his Majesty, to Summon a Convocation I have already mention'd, but tho' that Session continued above four Months after, there were some Reasons why it could not so soon be complied with; the *Dissenters* and their Friends, were then heaving at the Test and if they could have eased

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their

their Shoulders of that, they would not have thank'd you for any further Favours, but if they Miscarried there, they were for Modelling the *Compehension* in their own Way, at least if those busy Fellows, the Parsons must have a Hand it, they must stay till that Important Day the first of *August* was over, which would Dicriminate the *Sheep* from the *Goats*, and put some of those Rigid inflexible Persons out of the way, who were likely to prove an Obstacle to their Progress, and stand in the Defence of the Church of *England*, now against the Dissenters alone, as they had lately against them and the Papists United, for which Reason by Way of Preliminary before the Convocation met, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Gloucester*, *Ely*, *Normich*, *Bath* and *Wells* and *Peterborough* refusing to take the Oaths, were suspended, and two or three Vacant Sees being fill'd, a New Ecclesiastical Commission as dangerous, if not as illegal as that of King *James* was Issued to 30 Bishops and other Divines, to prepare such Alterations of the Liturgy and Canons and such Proposals for the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts, and to consider such other Matters as should be most conducing to the good Order, Edification and Unity of the Church of *England*, and the reconciling all Differences among their Majesties good Subjects, and take away all Occasions of the like for the future.

The Commissioners meeting some of the Moderate Gentlemen quickly shew'd, they did not intend to insist on small Matters, offering such Proposals as induced several of their Brethren to Desert them when they perceiv'd they could

could not be serviceable there with Honour to themselves, or Justice to their Profession Oaths and Subscriptions, amongst which, Doctor *Jane* was one who was afterwards chosen Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation, by a Majority of two to one against Doctor *Tillotson*, the Candidate put up by the Men of Moderation, which Disappointment went so near the Hearts of that Party, that there was no need of the Stab at the End of the Prolocutor's Speech, which concluded with a *Nolumus leges Anglia mutari*; and it must be remember'd, to the eternal Honour of the Members of that House, that neither golden Promises of Preferment, nor any other Methods, could either wheedle or bully them to desert this Standard, and betray their holy Mother the Church of *England*, into the Hands of her Enemies, by which noble Resolution, she was preserv'd from a more imminent Danger than she had been in since the Restoration of the Crown and Mitre to their legal Proprietors.

This Conduct of the Clergy did not proceed from any unreasonable Stiffness, high flown Principles or want of Charity, with which they have been no less violently than unjustly charged; they were willing to have gone as far as with Safety they could, to cure our unhappy Divisions, and would have consented to any reasonable Abatements to reduce their stray'd Brethren, if there had been any Hopes of attaining so desirable an End. But besides all the Reasons which obstructed the Advances towards a Comprehension before, and still existed in full Force, there was one very unhappy Circumstance of a recent Date, I mean, the fatal

Division about the Oaths, whereby several of the Fathers of the Church and others of distinguish'd Merit and in all Points unexceptionable and irreproachable, were already render'd incapable and excluded from acting in so great a Work; and to give up the Worship or Discipline of the Church at this Time (which some were ready to do, even to Episcopal Ordination) had been shutting the Door of the Temple for ever against those who had officiated in it with so much Honour; and as one of the forwardest Sticklers for the Alterations informs us, with more Truth than he is usually guilty of, *Was more likely to create new Rents, than to heal the Old ones.*

v. Abr. of
Baxter's
Life.

Besides, they thought it hard, that all the Advances and Concessions must be made on one Side; that the Church must be the Boat, and the Dissenters the Shore: None of these had express'd any Terms of Agreement with which they would be content, so that when the Worship of the Church of *England* had been as much alter'd and mangled as was thought fit, it might have been despised and rejected not only with a *quis Requisivit*, who has required these things at your Hands, but with a *pudet hac Opprobria vobis*, as if it was so bad the Churchmen were ashamed of it themselves, and convinced of a Necessity to purge it; and when it was thus sliced and cook'd, the Dissenters might have given the same *Recipe* as some do for a Cucumber, and advise them to throw it on a Dunghil.

There were indeed very small Hopes of a more favourable acceptance of any Condescensions that could be offer'd: For when the Bill of Indulgence was brought in to the House of Lords, the Earl of *Nottingham* moving for another

another Bill for a Comprehension, his Motion was universally applauded, even by the Lords Spiritual then present, tho' none of that Bench had yet absented, and the Earl receiv'd the Thanks of the House (so sincerely were they inclin'd to come to a Temper with their dissenting Brethren) yet the Dissenters, who had other Work on their Hands, instead of embracing so kind an Offer, resented the Motion, as tending only to discover how they stood affected to the Church of England, which was a Discovery, it seems, they did not care to make at that Time.

Afterwards, when they found they could go but half thro' with what they design'd, and could not throw off the Test, as they had done the penal Laws, the Church was to be made *Felo de se*, or like the Oak be rent in Pieces with Wedges cut out of its own Body. One of their great Apostles has acknowledg'd how sily they lay Perdue, waiting the Issue of the Divisions they had kindled. *After our happy Settlement* (says he) *great Animosities appear'd among the Church Party. The Difference lay both in Political and Ecclesiastical Matters. The Political Difference referr'd to the taking the Oaths to the new Government, which many scrupl'd while King James was living. The Ecclesiastical Difference, referr'd to Alterations and Emendations in the Constitution, Worship and Discipline of the Church, which some were for, in order to the strengthening Our Foundations, and others against, as seeing no Need of Amendments. Both these Controversies were manag'd with great Warmth and Eagerness, while the Dissenters stood by, making their Remarks, hoping they should be no Losers in the Issue, by such Debates. But this*

*v. Hist. of
W. 3d.
Vol. 2d.*

*Abr. of
Baxton's
Life. Fol.
637.*

Hist. W.
3d. fol.
158.

was not all ; several of their Ministers (and among the rest, their *Mufti Baxter*) as silent as they were all the Reign of King *James*, in Relation to the Church of Rome, were pleas'd now to waste their Ink in bespattering the Church of *England*: So little Thoughts had they of an Accommodation, which they render'd yet more desperate, by ordaining at this very Juncture, near fifty young Students into their Ministry ; altho' the Point of Ordination was the most difficult to be adjusted of any of the Matters in Dispute ; which was a singular Proof of their Inclinations to Peace and Unity, and their good Affection to the Church of *England*.

I cannot, for my Part, think they would have taken so bold a Leap at this Time, if they had not been assur'd of a soft Bottom, and that their Friends were ready to receive them. The Oaths, like a strong Wind, having tore up so many of the noblest Trees in the Forest, and the design'd Alterations, being like an Ax laid to the Root of a great many more, without Question, these young Shoots were to have supply'd their Vacancies ; some of our own Gardiners being busy in ordering and Preparing the Soil to make it fit for their Reception.

For if Ordination by Presbyters was to be allowed Valid, which it seems was contended for by some of the Commissioners, who called themselves Members of the Church of *England*, (and I cannot yet say they are Rotten ones) or if by any Expedient they could have pass'd this Turnpike, what else could have stop'd their Carreer ; Would any one after that, have disputed Habits, Ceremonies, or Alterations in
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the Liturgy? So that laying all these Things together, it is easie, without any Breach of Charity, to imagine, what sort of Church they were Building for us, if they could have blown up that which has been so long and so well establish'd; but the Mine was laid so open, and so near Day, that it was easily discover'd, and it's Effect prevented, by the Courage and Circumspection of the inferior Clergy, whose Care of the Church in this Extremity is, by a Right Reverend, charitably explain'd, as meaning *France and St. Germans*, under which fatal Delusion, (to use his own Words) many are too apt to be misled to this Day.

This great Disappointment put the Pretenders to Moderation quite beside their Temper; so that the Convocation, for this unseasonable Stubborness, were presently sent Packing, and none suffer'd to Sit to any Purpose afterwards in that Reign; and for this unpardonable Crime, the whole Body of the inferior Clergy ever since has been the Mark at which the Faction have shot their keenest Arrows of Malice and Detraction.

But if the Clergy of the Church of *England* suffer'd severely under their Lash, those of the Laity, who continued firm to it's Interest, or would not fall in with their Measures, must not expect to go Scot-free; the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who in the first Session of this Parliament, (the Great Seal being in Commission) had sat as Speaker of the House of Lords, they had teased out of his Chair by several spiteful Votes and Motions, with which they also pelted the President of the Council, and Prime Secretary; and altho' these were too well seated to

Earl of Carmarthen, and Earl of Nottingham.

be puff'd away so easily, it was not long they were able to stand against the repeated Assaults of the Faction.

But this Pickeering was not like to be of any great Service, therefore their Rage whetting their Invention, they found out a Contrivance, which if it could have been brought to Perfection, would have effectually accomplish'd their great Work at once, by only foisting a Clause into an Act for restoring Corporations, which was then upon the Stocks.

To set this Matter in a clear Light, I must again take a Step backward into the Reign of K. Charles II. when the villanous Designs of *Shaftsbury*, and the Party which he headed, being laid open by the Discovery of the *Presbyterian* Plot, the better part of the Subjects, seeing how far they had been misled, begun to shew a Warmth and Spirit in Favour of the Monarchy and Government, which inclin'd them to express their Duty and Affection by Addresses; and these producing a Reciprocation on the other side, those at the Helm were very willing to gratifie these Men with any Favour or Countenance; so that nothing of Markets, Fairs, or the like Advantages, could be asked, but were readily granted. And divers of the Nobility, with most of the Considerable Gentry joyning themselves with the Corporations, and being their Mediators above, in Procuring what Advantages they desired, this occasion'd the Renewing of very many Charters, whereby the Government was pleas'd with an Opportunity of obliging it's Friends, and the Towns had their Account in Revenues and Priviledges.

But

But when the Case of *London*, had put the Government to a Stand, and a Public and avowed Stop was put to the Course of Justice there, it became necessary if possible, to remove that Grievance, for which no Method being thought so Proper and so justifiable as that of the Law, a process of *Quo Warranto* was sent out against the City, and Crimes of Forfeiture assign'd, the Fact of which was not denied; but the Law disputed, and at Length Judgment was given for the King.

Not long after which these reasonable Proceedings, were by Degrees carried too far by some great Men, who valued themselves at Court upon bringing in of Charters, in which they were assisted by the like Process, now Fortified by the Judgment against *London*, and the Inhabitants of Corporations, being prevail'd on by Promises, Threats or Benefits to their Towns, and Urged by Men of Credit in the Country, as well as Interest at Court, it is no wonder when they thought it in vain to Contend, that they were over perswaded to Consent and Renew as it was Lawful for them to do, in a Matter of Common Interest.

Yet thus far the Necessity at that Time, to prevent the Threatning Consequences of occasional Communion, and to curb a Dangerous Faction, which by that and other ill Practises had in several Towns got into Power render'd it at least excusable, and this Case was so general, that under one of these two Heads most of the Substantial, Reputable and conformable People in Cities and Towns all over *England* were concerned. Nay many of the Nobility, as Stewards and Recorders, as well as most of the considerable

able Gentry, who were Members or Friends of Corporations, were in the same Circumstance in which if they were Guilty of too much Compliance they soon made amends, for in the next Reign, when the Torrent of Regulators broke in upon Corporations and Men were Placed and Displaced under the Power reserv'd in the Charters, to serve such Turns as tended to the Subversion of the Establish'd Laws. These were the Chief, if not the only Men who bore the Brunt, stood out and were displaced with all possible Discountenance, whilst others Yielded, and were therefore preferr'd to the Magistracy, in which to shew their Inclinations, they acted without being legally qualified.

But their Virtue was their Fault, these were the Men who had disappointed the Projects of the Dissenters, as well since as before the Revolution, and therefore if possible, must be put out of Power of doing the like again; and now a Bill being brought into the House of Commons for restoring Corporations, many of those who were jealous of the Stratagems of the Faction, to influence future Elections expected to hear of them in that Transaction; but finding it settl'd in a harmless Restitution to the State of 1675, which was generally approv'd had in the *Christmas* Holydays, left the House to visit their Country Affairs.

This gave a fair Opportunity, and the Bill being reported from the Committee, the following Clause was Offer'd by Mr. *Sacheverell* and Admitted.

Be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that every Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, Steward, Sheriff, Common Council Man, Town Clerk, Magistrate or Officer

Officer, who did take upon him to Consent to, or joyn in any such Surrender or Instrument, purporting such Surrender as aforesaid. Or did Solicit, Procure, Prosecute or did pay or contribute to the Charge of Prosecuting any Scire facias, Quo Warranto, or Information in the Nature of Quo Warranto by this Act declared Void, shall be and is declared Adjudged and Enacted, to be for the Space of Seven Years, incapable and disabled to all Intents and Purposes, to bear or Execute any Office, Employment or Place of Trust, as a Member of such Respective Body Corporate, or in, or for such respective City, Town, Burgh or Cinque Port, whereof or or wherein he was a Member, at or before the time of making such Surrender or Instrument Purporting such Surrender, or the Suing out or Prosecuting such, Scire facias Quo Warranto or Information in Nature of a Quo Warranto, any thing in this Act Contained, or any other Case, Statute or any Ordinance, Charter, Custom or thing to the contrary in any Wise notwithstanding.

After which, by another Clause brought in by Sir Robert Howard, every Person so declared Incapable, who should take upon him the Execution of any such Office, Employment or Place of Trust, was to Forfeit 500 l. to be Recover'd by any Member of the Respective Corporations (which you may be sure they would be ready enough to endeavour) and to be for ever made incapable of any Office or Place of Trust, within the Kingdom of England or Dominion of Wales.

Thus by a Post Factum Law, were Men to be laid under Disabilities, and heavy Penalties too, (notwithstanding the Declaration of Rights) for doing that which then was, and still is lawful, and against even the Abuse of which the
Act

And it's self contained no Prohibition for the Future. So that the Design plainly appears to be only aimed at those who had been any Way concerned in the late Surrenders, and this would have reach'd, not only the best Inhabitants and Members of each Corporation; but many of the Nobility and Gentry, as Stewards Recorders, &c. in short the whole Church of *England* Party. But there is not a Word against the Regulators or those who set them to Work or acted under them, which Practice was the greatest Grievance of the last inauspicious Reign. For the Towns must not be left without Magistrates, and these no doubt were the fittest Persons, upon whom and their Friends the Dissenters, the whole Business of the Election of Burgesses in Parliament, must in Consequence have devolved; and considering that these make up four parts in Five of the House of *Commons*, the Power the Magistrates have in those Elections, by Notice, Time, Place, Countenancce, Partial Returns, besides the Course of Determining disputed Elections (all which that Party Understand full well) it is easy to Imagine, what must have been the Success of a Future Parliament chosen under the Dispensation of that Law, if it had Succeeded, of which they seem'd pretty Confident, or the worthy Gentleman, who brought in the Clause, would not have been so free as to Declare his Resolution, that he would never stand again for Member of Parliament, till he could be Chosen by Honest Regulators only.

As I am writing this, it fills me with Astonishment, when I consider what terrible Ideas are entertain'd of the Danger, to which the
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Establish'd Church was expos'd under the Ad-
 stration of *K. James*, and how little Notice is
 taken of those it escaped in the next Reign,
 which seem to me to be much greater, and
 more imminent. For without looking into
 the real State of the Case, but judging ac-
 cording to outward Appearances, and consider-
 ing King *James* as a free Agent, the great Point
 which he aim'd at, was the taking off the Pe-
 nal Laws and Test, and his greatest Crime was
 dispensing with them, by a disputable Prero-
 gative, till such Time as that could be done in
 an Authentic legal Course, I shall not insist that
 so long as the Church of *England* continued
 true to it's self this was impossible; but admit-
 ting that he had gain'd this Outwork, what
 Advantage could he have made of it more,
 than qualifying those of his own Perswasion,
 as well as others, to share his Favours, as he
 should think them worthy. Without the Help
 of the Dissenters, he could not advance a Step
 farther, and as bad an Opinion as I have of
 them, I cannot think they could have come to
 any Agreement with the *Papists* in Settling any
 new Model of Worship or Discipline, so that
 the Balance of those two Parties, which with
 the Royal weight in one Scale had been pretty
 equal, would probably have Kept upright, the
 Religion Establish'd, at which there was but
 one Shot in that Reign, that seem'd to be di-
 rectly Levell'd, I Mean the Business of the Bishops
 and from what Quarter that came, has been
 already shewn; but here was some Shadow
 of Contempt and Disobedience, which was suf-
 ficiently aggravated to provoke their Prosecu-
 tion, whereby they were put upon a fair Legal
 Trial

Trial, and honourably acquitted in such a Manner as perhaps would have made their Enemies more cautious for the Future.

But tho' the Blow was thus easily avoided, the Wind of it, by a kind of Conjunction, rais'd a Storm which overturn'd the Government, and swell'd the Tide of popular Passions to such a Height, as set the Revolution a Float, which, tho' ready rigg'd and mann'd, lay till then like a Vessel in a dry Dock. But, how aptly is the Noise of a Multitude compared to the Roaring of many Waters, being mov'd without Reason, and appeased without Sense, according as the Breath of Faction blows. These Men, so highly esteem'd and tenderly regarded, were soon after, without any Crime, discarded, despis'd and render'd vile as the Off-scouring of the Earth: The Walls of the Establish'd Church, after the Honour of these her Chiefs was laid in the Dust, were openly and vigorously attack'd, and a Plot laid to disable and turn out of the Garrison, those who continu'd willing to act in her Defence; and all this in the Course of one revolving Year: After she had afforded such convincing Proofs of her Aversion both to Popery and Arbitrary Power, was done without any Provocation, by those to whom she had newly granted a Toleration; for which Kindness, they gratefully accosted her with a feign'd Compliment and a treacherous Kiss, as *Joab* did *Amasa*, when he took him by the Beard and smote him under the fifth Rib. And if the Wounds they made did not prove as fatal, that it was not for want of good Will, we may judge by the Favours we formerly receiv'd at their Hands, and the great Gentleness and Humanity they now exercised in

in a very sensible Manner, towards the poor Episcopal Church of *Scotland*.

Could they have struck Home, without Question they would have dealt us the same Fate, but notwithstanding the Intoxication and Blindness, caus'd by the late Circumvolutions, the Sword hid under the Mantle was discover'd, which putting the Church Party on their Guard, any further Attempts were render'd hopeless, it being in vain to spread the Net in Sight of the Bird; so that they were forc'd, with much Regret, to lie by and wait till a fairer Opportunity should present it self, which it is to be hop'd will not happen, till the Coming of the Jews *Messiah*.

They had then indeed a very favourable Concurrence of Circumstances, the Friendship of a Prince, back'd with an Army of Foreigners ready for all Purposes, the Affections of too great a Part of a divided Church, the undulating and unsettled Condition of the Passions and Humours of the People on the late Agitations and their successful Progress in *Scotland*, might reasonably give 'em great Hopes, which encouraged the old Rebels and Republicans to leave their Holes, in Hopes of an Opportunity of drawing their Basket-Hilts, in the Assistance of the good Work: Among the rest, *Ludlow* one of the blackest of the *Regicides*, was invited over from *Switzerland*, and notwithstanding his Attainder appear'd publicly in *London*, where his House became the Rendezvous of the detestable Remains of that pernicious Crew, for which Insolence, the Commons thought fit to address the King to issue a Proclamation for his Apprehension, whereupon he was sent over into *Holland* with the Dutch Ambassadors

bassadors, and after it was known that he was safely arrived there, out came the Proclamation.

These repeated Instances of the Petulance of the Faction, could not but provoke the Choler of the other Party so that in Parliament the King's great Business of settling his Revenue and Money Concerns, did not go so readily on, as he could have desired. Some warm Votes were carried on each Side, according as they could get Strength, and in the Bill of Indemnity, which was then necessary to quiet Mens Minds, and reduce 'em to Peace and Order, there were so many Causes of Exception voted, as would have mark'd out more for Punishment than Pardon, and would have affected so great a Number of the Members, that it seem'd as if the House was turn'd into an *Amphitheatre*, and like the old Roman *Laquearii*, they were throwing Nooses over the Necks of each other.

These Struggles, with the Manner in which this Parliament was assembled, gave plain Indications they could not be long liv'd; and if the Whiggs had carried their Point in the disabling Clauses (which were brought in with this Prospect) they had prepar'd Petitions to hasten the Dissolution of it, whereby they had presently reap'd the Fruit of the Seed they were sowing: But tho' that miscarried, the Parliament was dissolved the 6th of *February*, and Writs sent out for a new one to meet the 20th of *March* 1689-90.

And now all Hands were aloft, and all Engines employ'd in managing Elections in Favour of the Whiggs, who assum'd the Title of the King's

King's Friends, exclusive of all others, and remembering what great Service their black Lists of *Staffordians* and *Court Pensioners* had formerly done to their Cause, a List was now Printed of all the *Non-Abdicators*, by which, and other laudable Methods, they made a shift to strengthen their Party in the ensuing Parliament, which met at the appointed Time, with great Assurance of Success in whatever they aimed at.

The Revenues of the Crown which K. *James* enjoy'd before his Abdication, except Chimney-Money, (which had been politickly remitted and thrown down the Pump to moisten the Suckers) were settled on their Majesties without much Dispute; so that like the Fly on the Chariot-Wheel, they thought all this Dust was of their own raising, and this Confidence of their Strength, in which they have often been mistaken, gave them the Assurance to believe, that they should now be able to make all Opposition fall down before them, and take a full Revenge of all such, both Clergy and Laity, as had dared to withstand their late Attempts: They were in hopes, the Oaths to the Government would have turn'd more Stomachs than they did; therefore those who had swallowed them must now be Drench'd with a stronger Dose; and a Bill was brought into the Lower House, requiring all their Majesties Subjects in general, to abjure the late K. *James* and his Title; and this to be done under no less Pain than Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprize; an Attempt so dangerous to the publick Peace, and so fatal to the Liberties of the Subject, which had lately Cost so dear to recover, that had the

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like been offer'd in any other Reign, or by any other Party, it would have made such a Noise as would have stunn'd the Ears of future Generations ; yet this good Bill obtain'd a second Reading, but being too gross to Pass, it drop'd there.

They found by this Essay, that they could not make their Way by open Force ; and the King apprehending, that these Arbitrary Proceedings might Occasion such Divisions as might be attended with very dangerous Consequences, they were prevail'd with to lie by, till Matters might by Degrees be better prepared, and some of the leading Men of the other Party being hush'd by Pence or Promises, this Parliament, which sat above five Years, went quietly on as they were led, which made the Court very easie, but at length tired the Country. The last Act of this Session was for a General Indemnity, which was necessary to sweeten such sharp Humours as might be contracted by these Distempers ; and the Exception went no farther than Thirty five Persons, amongst which it was pleasant to see, *Robert Earl of Sunderland* standing the second in Order, who was in like Manner excepted by King *James*, with much greater Reason.

This Summer the King went over to *Ireland*, and part of the Sea Forces being employ'd on that Expedition, while another Squadron was appointed to Convoy home the new Queen of *Spain*, the Confederate Fleet in the Channel, under the Earl of *Torrington* was much weaken'd; which Opportunity the *French* made use of to insult our Coasts, and attack the Fleet at *Beachy-Head* with some Advantage. This, the King being

being absent, caused a great Consternation, which was artfully increased, and a Plot was trump'd up, that the *French Fleet* was to be divided, part to come up the *Thames* to Countenance the *Jacobites* in *London*, and the rest to Land 8000 Men with a great Number of Arms at *Torbay*; after which they were to Sail into the *Irish Sea* to hinder the return of King *William* and his Forces; and to Countenance the Story, a Proclamation was issued for the Apprehension of several Persons which were thought fit to be suspected.

Thus far might be proper enough to unite and confirm those who wish'd well to the Government, and the Peace of the Nation, as well as to amuse and terrifie such as might possibly carry on any Commerce in favour of the abdicated Prince, but that the Government believed it I can see no Reason to think. The Fight was within three Weeks after K. *William's* Departure; the *French* were seen off the *Isle of Wight* a Week before they engaged, and some time must be spent in preparing and putting out to Sea. Now, can we believe King *William* could have so bad Intelligence, as not to know if such an Army was ready to Invade him, or so little Care as not to provide for the Storm? Besides, after *Torrington* was beaten, What could have hindred the Landing of this Invisible Army? But any thing will pass when People are frighted out of their Wits, and the poor abdicated Bishops and Clergy had not suffered enough, but they must be loaded with the Blame of all this, to expose 'em to the fury of the Mob, as their Predecessors the Primitive Christians were used in *Pagan Rome*, where if any public Misfortune

happen'd, the word was presently, *Christianos ad Leones*, as if the Gods were angry that such Wretches were suffer'd to live. To this purpose, under a modest Title, was publish'd, a most virulent, scandalous Libel, wherein those pious good Men, whom the Author ironically calls the *Lambeth Holy Club*, are charged, as being the Authors of all the publick Disasters and Miseries; *That they had framed a new Liturgy, of which they had Printed above 10000; that they held a constant Correspondence with Monsieur de Croissy, the French Minister, and that they had sent a Memorial to the French King, out of which, and the pretended Liturgy, he draws formal Recitals, (tho' neither of them were ever seen) that this Memorial, and the Intelligence they had given, the French Fleet was invited into the Channel; and that in the mean time, they were as busie sowing Sedition, and alienating the Minds of their Hearers from the Government; and having aggravated the public Dangers, and these hellish Calumnies, with all the villanous Rhetoric of which he was capable, that his Meaning and Purpose might be understood, he explains it in the following Words.*

We read of one of the Nations of Asia, that when any signal Misfortune befalls their State, they immediately offer up to their angry Deities, some of their Priests as a Sacrifice to atone their Wrath, because say they, Those Priests ought to have taught us how to have pleased the Gods, so as not to have provoked them to inflict such Judgements upon us. The Truth is, it's a Wonder, the English Nation, upon the Affront that has befallen them in being forced to turn their Backs to the French at Sea,
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have not in their Fury De Witted some of those Men that have brought all this upon us, both by inviting the French, and by the Intrigues they have managed at Home: And I must tell them that the Crimes of the Two Unhappy Brothers in Holland *, * This Libeller has done no great Honour to those he pretended to Serve by reviving the Memory of that barbarous Action, in which the Hand of Joab did but too plainly appear: The pretended Crime of Cornelius de Wit was a Design against the Life of the Prince of Orange, of which he was accused on the Evidence of a scandalous Fellow, one Tichlaer, a Barber, and was as true and as much believed as the Forgeries of this Calumniator; but the real Crime of both the Brothers cannot be justly blamed by the Advocates for Liberty, being a Jealousie of the Power of the House of Orange, so that they died Martyrs to the Liberties of their Country. John De Wit had been lately Assaulted and Wounded by Four Assassins, Three of whom escaped, and took Sanctuary in the Army of the Prince; and after the Murder of the Two Brothers was perpetrated, the Grave of the Hague, a Relation to the deceased, desiring Justice, was advised by the Prince to be very Cautious whom he accused; that Men in their Military Accoutrements (for it was done by the Militia) were very different from what they appear'd in their Shops; but if he pleased they should be again drawn out, and he might Pick those he thought fit; an Experiment which might have been as dangerous as Picking the Teeth of the Crocodile: And I have been told, That the Brother a of Dutch Picture-Seller, now living in Long Acre, was, for his Service in this Noble Action, rewarded with an Employment of the Yearly Value of about 80 l. English Money.

Whether this was the Work of a single Hand or no, it affords us the true Spirit of the Party, and the Quintessence of their Candour, Justice, and Moderation: Such a Heap of atrocious Calumnies and Falshoods, utter'd with the most harden'd Confidence, and not supported with

the least Shadow of Proof, can be the Work of no other Forge on this side the Territories of *Lucifer*; and he himself could not have timed it better, than this was intended, the bloody Tragedy pointed at was acted at a Time when the *Dutch* were under the Alarm of a *French* Invasion; and the same Terrors here, were (they hoped) as likely to open the Magazine of Original Power to execute Justice in the most concise Manner on these Delinquents, who were so unhappy as to be thus mark'd out for Destruction.

Being therefore so nearly concern'd, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, thought fit to publish a Paper in their own Names, and in the Name of their absent Brother the Bishop of *Gloucester*, wherein they did Solemnly and in the Presence of God declare, That these Accusations cast upon them were all malicious Calumnies and diabolical Inventions: That they knew nothing of any such New Liturgy, nor had any Hand in it, neither did they Use it at any Time. That they never held any Correspondence directly or indirectly with *Monsieur de Croissy*, or with any other Minister or Agent of France; and if any such Memorial had been presented to the French King, they never knew any Thing of it; and they did utterly renounce, both that, and all other Invitations suggested to be made by them, in order to any Invasion of this Kingdom by the French. That they utterly denied and disown'd all Plots charged upon them, as contrived or carried on in their Meetings at *Lambeth*, the Intent thereof being to Advise, how, in their present Difficulties, they might best keep their Consciences void of Offence

Offence towards God and towards Man. That they were so far from being the Authors or Abettors of England's Miseries, that they did and shou'd to their dying Hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the Peace, Prosperity and Glory of England; and should always by God's Grace, study to be quiet to bear their Cross patiently, and to seek the Good of their Native Country; concluding, that as the Lord had taught them to return Good for Evil, the unknown Author of the Pamphlet having endeavoured to raise in the whole English Nation such a Fury as might End in De Witting them, (a bloody Word but too well understood) they recommended him to the Divine Mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him. And as they had not long since, either actually or in full Preparation of Mind, hazarded all they had in the World, in opposing Popery and Arbitrary Power in England; so they should, by God's Grace, with greater Zeal, again Sacrifice all they had, and their very Lives too, if God should be pleased to call them thereto to prevent Popery and the Arbitrary Power of France, from coming upon them, and prevailing over them, the Persecution of their Protestant Brethren there, being fresh in their Memories.

If the Pamphlet smells strong of Sulpher, the true Spirit of Christianity breaths in this Declaration, every Article of which was made good by their Behaviour to the End of their Lives; and this may be said to the Honour of the whole Body of the ejected Clergy, both here and in Scotland, that all their Sufferings and Necessities, have not been able to engage one of them in any Action or Design against the present Establishment, so different has their Con-

duct been from that of the Sectarian Preachers in the late Reigns ; which proves beyond Contradiction, which Set of Principles is best suited to Secure and Preserve the Peace and Welfare of Civil Government.

Yet these false Accusations are preserved in History, and their Enemies to shew their good Will to the Clergy, have lately, on an other Occasion, reprinted the Substance of this Libel, which is a certain Sign they are in great Want of Dirt, when they rake up these old Dung-hills ; for my part, I should have suffered this to lie still, had it not thus been served up again to the Noses of the Publick ; so that in time, the Story may by the like Repetitions be believed, even by the first Inventors, if it should pass without a Detection of the Falshood.

But as I am unhappily fallen in the Way of this Pamphleteer, I cannot yet leave him : It happened, that while he was at Work, the Scene suddenly changed, the Battle of the *Boyme* was fought the Day after our Loss at Sea, and the News of it coming upon the Heels of the other, turn'd our Sorrow into Joy ; and tho' the Liberties taken by the Populace on such Occasions of Public Rejoycing, often gives a Rise to Disorders ; yet the Debonairness and good Humour which reigns at those times will not suffer them to be transported to the extremes of Cruelty and Barbarity ; and when ever History presents us with any of those funest Effects of Popular Fury, it is when the People lie under some very great Uneasiness or Apprehensions either Real or Imaginary.

Of this our Author seems sensible, for at the End of his noble Performance, which it seems was finish'd after this Change, he is then to shew his singular Humanity, graciously Content, to let them live *the Scorn of all honest Men, and the Hatred of every One that loves their Country and their Religion.*

The Words are his own, which I do not mention to Cavil at a slip of the Pen, or an Error of the Press, but because I would not be answerable for his *English* any more than his good Nature, which seems to regret his Disappointment so far, as to make him disrelish the glorious Success of his Hero.

But in Spite of the Stink-Pots of him and all his Faction, the Memory of those Men will retain a grateful Odour, and be every Day more revered, by all such as have a true Value for the British Monarchy, or Church of *England.*

I would not lay a greater Stress upon the *De-Witting* Part of the Story, than it will bear; but in all Probability, if they could have hounded the Rabble on these Bishops, as they did on Arch-Bishop *Laud* and his Brethren, they had been as ready to make use of their *Vox Populi*, to the Prejudice of the whole Body of the Clergy; and Episcopacy might have been as great a Grievance here, as it was in *Scotland*: For we are not to think, that all this Bustle was only to throw Water on two or three drown'd Mice, or ruin a few *Non-Jurors*, who were ruin'd before, and could do them neither Good nor Harm. No, their Spite was chiefly against those, who by complying with the Government, were in a Capacity to oppose the *Latitudinarian* Schemes,

Schemes, which were then advanc'd to bring Men into a Belief of the Indifference of all Religions, as a Preparative to receive whatever they thought fit to saddle 'em with, and this has been the unpardonable Sin, which, like that against the *Holy Ghost*, is never to be forgiven; and for which, the Faction are perpetually discharging their foul Stomachs, upon that Part of the Clergy, whom they have since thought fit to distinguish by the Name] of *High-Church*.

Nor was it their Zeal for Religion which made them employ all this wicked Industry, but Power and Places in the State, and Benefices and Revenues in the Church; and like harden'd Sinners, they had now so little Modesty left, that they scorn'd to hide their Nakedness under the wither'd Fig-leaves of a purer Reformation, or any of the threadbare Pretences of their Fathers. *Baxter*, in the Days of Yore, had made a Distinction between *tolerabiles* and *intolerabiles*, including under the later, *Deists*, *Socinians* and *Papists*, but there was nothing intolerable now but the Church of *England*; the *Deists* and *Socinians* were strictly united with the rest of the Sects against her, and made the best Appearance of any of the Troops in that motley Confederacy, and if they continued to rail against the *Papists*, it was only, *vox, & preterea nihil*, a Noise kept up to serve a Turn. Could *W. Prynne* have return'd into the World, and seen the Articles of *Limerick* executed, and afterwards ratify'd in Parliament, or, have taken a Prospect of our Protestant Monarch, attended by some of the brightest of our English Nobility, making

making a Tour into *Holland*, and there publicly joyning in a solemn Protestation to God, to deliberate nothing in that Assembly, but what might be very just and equitable, and solemnly protesting before God, that his Intentions were never to make Peace with Lewis the XIV. till (amongst other things) he had, in the first Place, made Reparation to the Holy See, for whatsoever he had acted against it, and till he had annull'd and made void all those infamous Proceedings against the Holy Father Innocent the XI. He might with some Grounds have fancy'd, we had all been traveling in the High Road towards *Rome*: For which of our Hereditary Kings since the Reformation, has ever made so large a Step in Favour of the Romish Incroachments? How has the Royal Martyr been exclaimed against for stiling the Pope Holy Father, in a Letter of Compliment, when he was Prince of *Wales*, and during the Negotiations about the *Spanish Match*; but even *Castlemain's* Embassy is far short of this; however, it shews how extremely the British Nation is beholden to their Deliverer for his singular Regard to the Welfare of their Souls, when by his Neglect of the Protestant Interest abroad, it seem'd, as if he did not Care whether their Neighbours went to the Pope or the Devil, if he could gain his End. On the other Hand, the Event has shewn, that the Pope made a good Bargain, and did wisely to give up what he had Lost, and had no Hopes of Regaining, if the P. of O. would assist his Holiness in securing a greater Value, which he was very much in Danger of losing.

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' It is well known, (says a late rational Au-
 ' thor) that the *Pope* was at the Bottom of the
 ' first Confederacy against *France*, if he was not
 ' the first Mover of it, in Order to restore
 ' his Supremacy thrown off there, as well by
 ' by the King, as the whole *Gallican Church*, in
 ' their general Assembly of the Year 1682.
 ' And the Pope was so much offended at those
 ' four memorable Propositions they pass'd a-
 ' gainst his Supremacy and Infallibility, that he
 ' refused to preconise any Bishop afterwards
 ' nominated by the King, unless he would re-
 ' nounce these Propositions; which all of them
 ' refusing to do, by this Means there were, at
 ' the Death of that *Pope* (*Inocent XI*) about fifty
 ' Bishopricks vacant in *France*. These it seems,
 were the infamous Proceedings against the holy
 Father. But, says my Author, ' if these Proceed-
 ' ings were infamous, our whole Reformation
 ' was so, for they were the same. The first Step
 ' was to break the Pope's Supremacy and Infal-
 ' libility; and then we were upon even Ground
 ' with him; so that upon the whole, continues
 ' he, I cannot but see, that if some unhappy
 ' Reasons of State had not interfer'd to prevent
 ' so great a Blessing, the Reformation, might
 ' have been by this Time, as far advanc'd in
 ' *France* as it was in *England*, during the Reign
 of King *Henry VIII.* by which he thinks, the
 Protestant Interest might have been trium-
 phant abroad, and the over Ballance in *Europe*.
 ' But the next Pope, *Alexander VIII.* being with
 ' a great deal of Reason, apprehensive of such
 ' a total Defection of the Kingdom of *France*, as
 ' had formerly happen'd in *England*, prov'd on
 ' one Side, no less tenacious than his Predecessor,
 and

‘ and on the other, the King finding himself fore-
 ‘ press’d by the Confederacy form’d against him,
 ‘ by *Innocent XI*, ‘ he was at last oblig’d to con-
 ‘ sent to a Compromise with the *Pope*; The first
 ‘ Conquest which the Confederacy obtain’d a-
 ‘ gainst that Monarch. And the same Author
 observes in another Part of his Book, that at
 the Peace of *Ryswick*, so little Regard was had
 to the Protestant Religion, That fifteen hun-
 dred Protestant Churches in the *Palatinate*,
 only which the *Papists* had seiz’d, while the
French had the Dominion there, were, by the
 fourth Article of the Treaty, left in their Hands.
*And the French King, in his Letter to the Arch-
 Bishop of Paris for a Thanksgiving on that Peace,*
instances this Success of his, most particularly, That
he had establish’d the Catholick Religion every
where in his Conquests, by the Consent of Sovereigns
of a different Perswasion.

Thus much, and much more than I intended,
 in Relation to the Affairs of Religion after
 the Revolution, whereby the Protestant Interest
 abroad was very much weakened, the Church
 of *Scotland* intirely ruin’d and demolish’d, and
 the establish’d Religion in *England* put in greater
 Danger of the same Fate, than it was or pos-
 sibly could have been in before; but after all
 these overt Attempts is it not strange, that the
 Dissenters should either be blamed for their
 Neglect, or praised for their Moderation,
 (as they have been lately) in that they did not
 after they had secured their Toleration, ease
 themselves of the *Test*, and make further Pro-
 vision for themselves and their Posterity, which
 they would insinuate was all in their own Power;
 and thus would cancel the Obligation of the
 Indulgence, and fix a Mark of Ingratitude on
 the

the Church-Party, for the late necessary Care they have taken for their Security against the dangerous Consequences of Occasional Conformity.

But as Religion was only one Foot on which the Revolution walk'd in, Liberty and Property being the other, it were to be hop'd they did not both remain *Lame alike*, and that so expensive a Remedy had not hazarded the Loss of one, without a visible Amendment in the other; but whoever entertain'd any such Hopes were disappointed, our Desperate Condition under King *James*, was rather guess'd at by prognostics than proved by diagnosis and was imagined by what we fear'd, more than what we felt; but tho' the People lay under the same, or greater Inconveniencies afterwards, yet being cured of their Hypochondriac Apprehensions of *Popery*, they bore them patiently without any Concern. The dispensing with Laws, which was the greatest Grievance of King *James's* Reign was continued by his Successor on divers Accounts, and particularly in Favour of the Papists which abounded in his Army, from whom their Country gave us less Room to expect any good Nature than their Religion. Capital Punishments were inflicted by Martial Law, before it was Authoris'd by Act of Parliament: The Native Liberties of Englishmen declared rather than Establish'd by *Magna Charta* and the *Habeas Corpus* Act were frequently Invaded, Arbitrary and illegal Imprisonments excessive Bail and exorbitant Fines; were as Familiar in that Reign as in any before it, Treasons were Multiplied instead of being explain'd, Lists were kept like that of *Shaftsburies*
of

of worthy Men and Men worthy, the Refuse of Jails and the cast Furniture of Pillories, and whipping Posts were laid up in Lavender, and pamper'd to Swear Men out of their Lives and Estates, wherever they were put on the Scent, by that Brace of Bloodhounds, *Baker* and *Aaron Smith*, those Giants in Wickedness, in Comparison of their puny Predecessors, *Graham* and *Burton*. Of all which abundant Proofs may be given; but I have neither Room nor Inclination to mark particularly these smaller Spots or Blemishes, there being some other Instances too singular to pass over, I do not mean the Tender regard of Life and Liberty, in the Case of *Sir John Fenwick*, or the just Care of Property in that of *Sir Charles Duncomb*, with which the World is already well enough acquainted, the Hardship of these Cases to call it no worse kept within the Forms of Law and Justice; but those I am going to mention, are of a Pindaric Strain, and scorn to be confined within those narrow Bounds.

The Scene of the first was *Ireland*, where ^{16th or 17th} Eight Soldiers of *Collonel Foulks* Regiment, ^{March 1690.} being basely Murther'd by some of the Irish, about Six Miles from *Dublin*, divers Persons were Apprehended for the Crime, among the Rest one *Sweetman*, in whose Backside the Bodies of the Murther'd Men were buried and their Coats found in his House, a Poor Fellow his Servant named *Gaffney* was also secured, and the Master finding it like to go Hard with him, especially by *Gaffney's* Evidence, made an Offer of his Estate, which was valued at about 3000 *l.* to Captain *Fitzgerald* a Member of the Privy Council there, if his Life might be

be saved, and afterwards Concluded the Bargain with Mr. *Gulliford* on the same Condition; besides which 500*l.* were given to Mr. *Feilding* Secretary to the Lords Justices, who was so kind as to be his Bail: This Way of Bleeding proved so effectual, that *Gaffney* being on his Examination, the Lord C——by, one of the Lords Justices, order'd a Provo, instead of a legal Officer, to be call'd into the Council-Chamber, into whose Hands he was committed, with a Command, that he should be hang'd up immediately: And the Provo making Answer, That it would require some time to make a Gallows, was order'd to hang him on the Carriage of a Gun, which was done accordingly, by Virtue of this Verbal Order, without the Ceremony of a Tryal, Judgment, or Sentence, tho' the Courts of Justice were then open, or without so much as advising the Council with it; and this poor Devil being hanged for having no Money, and to prevent his telling Tales, *Sweetman* was never prosecuted for the Murder.

This violent Detorsion of Justice, and Abuse of Authority, with other Instances of Corrupt and Arbitrary Administration, could not be safe without a Pardon, which was opposed by the Lord *Bellamont* and other Gentlemen of *Ireland*, who afterwards exhibited Articles of Impeachment in the English House of Commons, against the Lord *Coningsby* and Sir *Charles Porter*, for this and several other Matters; and tho' the Murder of *Gaffney*, with its Circumstances, were fairly proved, insomuch that the House thought themselves obliged to Vote his Execution without Tryal to be Arbitrary and Illegal, yet considering
the

the State of Affairs, they did not think fit to ground an Impeachment against the Lord Coningsby for the same. But what could the State of Affairs be, which could Countenance so illegal an Action; the Irish Army was shut up in a Corner, about *Limerick*, and the rest of the Kingdom was in a profound Peace, the Courts were open, and the Lords Justices and Council sitting in great State and Security; so that there was nothing to obstruct a due Course of Justice there, but those who by the State of Affairs here, were screen'd from the Punishment they justly deserved.

But if this was a Violation of Law and Justice, the next I shall relate exceeds it, as much in the Nature as in the Extent of it. The Operations of War lying out of my Province, I have not taken any Notice of the Efforts made for the Interest of King James in Scotland, by the Viscount Dundee, Nephew to the great Montrose, and the Heir of his Virtues, who like *Epaminandos*, being carried into another World on the Wings of Victory, the remains of his Army were left almost as inanimate as his Carcase, and Acting afterwards without Order or Vigour, were easily and quickly defeated and scatter'd; and tho' some small Irruptions were made by some of the Highland-Clans, under Sir Evan Cameron of Locheal, and by the Earl of Seaforth, with the Mackenzies, in the Year 1690. yet these submitting, and Fedret Castle being taken, and the Earl of Argyle having reduced the Isle of Mull without Opposition, the Highlanders continued very quiet; so that the Country enjoying a perfect Repose, most of the regular Troops were sent into Flanders, and the Militia

dismiss'd; but the Government would not be Content with the present peaceable Behaviour of the Clans, unless they would by Oaths and Bonds secure it for the future, which by Degrees, to Purchase an Amnesty, and the Security of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, most of them complied with, and Sir *Evan Cameron* himself, who was one of the last, being admitted to Kiss their Majesties Hands at *Kensington*, assured them of his own and the rest of the *Highlanders* Sincerity in submitting to their Majesties Government.

Among the rest, *Mac-jan Macdonald*, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the Tribe of the *Mac-Donalds*, one of the greatest Clans or Tribes in the North of *Scotland*, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan, about the latter End of *December* 1691. to Colonel *Hill*, Governor of a new Fort, called *Fort William*, which had been built at *Inverlochy* to Bridle the *Highlanders*, and entreated him to Administer the Oaths, which by Proclamation were required to be taken, that so submitting himself to the Government he might have it's Protection. The Colonel receiv'd him with all Expressions of Kindness, but shifted administering the Oaths, alledging it to belong to the Civil Officers: Yet *Mac-jan* complaining, that by this Disappointment he might be wrong'd, the Time limited by the Proclamation, which was the First of *January*, being near at hand, and the Weather so extream, and Ways so bad, that it was not possible for him to reach any Sheriff or Magistrate, the Colonel gave him a Protection under his Hand; and withal assured him, That no Orders from the Government against him should be

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be put in Execution until he were first advertised, and had Time allow'd to apply himself to the King or Council for his own Safety ; (by which it seems as if there were then some Intimation of the severe Methods which were intended) therefore, altho' this might seem Security enough at that time) *Mac-jan* did not think fit absolutely to rely on it, but with all possible Dispatch posted to *Inverary*, the chief Town of *Argileshire*, where he found Sir *Collin Campbell* the Sheriff, and craved of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions required. Sir *Collin* at first scrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the time appointed being elapsed by one Day, so that the taking of them would be of no Use. But *Mac-jan* representing, that the Lapse was not thro' his Fault, he having applied himself within the Time to Colonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have administred the Oaths; and that upon his Refusal, he had made such haste to *Inverary*, that he might have come time enough had not the Extremity of the Weather hinder'd him, and even then he was but one Day too late, of which it would not become the Government to take Advantage, especially as he had done his best to come in time ; and threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the Severity of this Usage, he administred to him and his Attendants the Oaths ; and *Mac-jan* depending on the Indemnity, return'd Home, where he lived peaceably and quietly under the Government till the Day of his Death.

Some time in *January*, a Party of *Argile's* Regiment came into that Country; the Design of their coming was suspected to be, to take Course with those who should stand out and not take the Oaths; but they pretended, they came to exact Arrears of Cess and Hearth-Money, which had been laid on by the Parliament of *Scotland*, after *England* had been eased of it; and the Garrison of *Inverlochy* being full, and *Glenco* near and commodious, they were sent thither to Quarter. Before they enter'd into *Glenco*, the Laird and his Sons came out to meet them, asking, Whether they came as Friends or Enemies? The Officers answer'd, As Friends, and gave their Parol of Honour, that they would neither do him nor his Concerns any Harm; upon which, he welcom'd them, and promised the best Entertainment the Place could afford, which he really performed. And thus about Fifteen or Sixteen Days were pass'd in mutual Kindness and Friendship; and so far was he from fearing any Hurt from them, that the 12th of *February*, which was the last Day of his Life, he spent in Company with the Commander of the Party, Captain *Campbel* of *Glenlison*, playing at Cards till Six or Seven at Night, and parting with a Renewal of mutual Protestations of Kindness. But some time this Day, *Campbel* receiv'd the bloody Orders from his Major, to fall upon the *Mac Donalds* of *Glenco*, and put all to the Sword under Seventy, and to take especial Care that the Old Fox and his Sons did not Escape.

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The Soldiers being disposed according to the Number they were to Assassinate, in the the Houses of these poor People, who had received them as Friends, and intending no Harm themselves, had no Suspicion that their Guests were to be their Murtherers, the Orders were secretly distributed, and about 5 the next Morning the Slaughter begun: One Party came and beset the House of the Laird, where the Officers, pretending extraordinary Business, were admitted, and as *Mac-jan* stood before his Bed putting on his Breeches, and giving Orders for the Entertainment of his bloody Visitors, he was shot thro' the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who, thro' the Grief of this, and other ill Usage, died the next Day; the Laird of *Archintrikin*, who had taken the Oaths, and obtained Colonel *Hill's* Protection Three Months before, was also murther'd, with 36 Persons more, most of them being a-sleep, and none allow'd time to pray to God for Mercy. No Age was spared, some were kill'd upwards of Seventy, and the tenderest Years could not escape their Rage: A poor Boy about 8 Years of Age, seeing the dismal Butchery of those about him, fell down at *Campbel's* Feet, and grasping his Legs, beg'd for Mercy, and offer'd to be his Servant all his Life; at which moving Spectacle, that Vultur seem'd to relent; but another, more cruel than he, one *Drummond*, barbarously run his Dagger thro' the Child as he lay in that Posture, and kill'd him on the Spot. The Night was exceeding Boisterous, which added to the Terror of it; but thro' Providence saved the greater Part of those designed for Sacrifice: A Party of 400 Men, who should

have enter'd at the other end of the *Glen* or Valley, and begun the like Work there at the same Hour, (that the poor Inhabitants might be inclosed and none of them escape) were not able to March till 9 a Clock, whereby many avoided their threatned Fate, and none were kill'd but those in whose Houses *Campbel* and his Men were quartered, otherwise all the Males under 70 Years of Age to the Number of 200, had been cut off according to the Order. But tho' the Men escaped, they set the Houses on Fire, driving off all the Cattle, which were above 900 Cows and 200 Horses, with a great Number of Sheep and Goats, to the Garrison of *Inverlochy*, where they were divided among the Officers.

In how lamentable a Condition were the poor Women and Children now left, their Husbands, Fathers, and near Relations, either kill'd or forced to flee to save their Lives, their Houses burnt, themselves rob'd and left almost naked, and not a House nearer than 6 Miles to shelter their Heads from the Inclemencies of the Weather, which was extreemly rigorous at that time, and to get thither, they must pass over Mountains, and Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greatest Part of them perish'd, thro' Hunger and Cold. It must fill any one with Horror, to think of a Number of poor weak Women, under their Frights and Calamities, some with Child, others giving Suck, and with a great many strip'd Children, wrestling against a Storm in Mountains and Heaps of Snow, and several of them here and there, at length to be overcome, fall down and die

misc-

miserably, and thereby increase the Grief and Torments of those who survived.

But notwithstanding all the Care, that by the Order was to be taken, of the old *Fox* and *his Cubs*, as they were pleas'd to call them, the two young Gentlemen, Sons of *Mac-jan*, escap'd their Fury. The Innocence of Youth makes them generally less apt to entertain Suspicions; but it happen'd here, that the younger Brother having a strong Impression on his Spirits, that some mischeivous Design was hid under *Campbell's* specious Pretences, kept a more watchful Eye over him, than either his Father or Brother, who by reiterated Oaths, were deluded into a Belief of his Sincerity. Therefore when the rest of the Family were in Bed, this Young Gentleman remain'd in a retired Corner where he had an Advantagious Prospect into the Guard, and about Midnight perceiving several Soldiers to Enter it, he communicated his fears to his Brother, who could not believe this doubling of the Guard to be with any ill Design,; but for the more frequent relieving their Centinels, by reason of the Extremity of the Weather; but the other persisting in his Jealousy, prevail'd with his Brother to rise and go with him to his Father, who lay in a Room contiguous and acquaint him with what he had seen, which tho' it made little Impression on the Father, yet he allow'd his Sons to try what Discovery they could make; who well knowing the Sculking Places, went and hid themselves near a Centinels Post, where, instead of one they discover'd 8 or 10 Men. This making 'em more Inquisitive, they crept as near as they could without being Discover'd, where they

heard one of the Soldiers say to his Fellows, that he lik'd not this Work, that if he had known of it, he should have been very unwilling to come there, but that none except their Commanders knew of it, till within a Quarter of an Hour, adding that he was willing to fight against the Men of the Glen; but it was base to Murther them. To which it was Answer'd, the Blame be on such as gave the Orders we are free being bound to obey our Officers, upon which Words the Young Gentlemen retir'd, as quickly and quietly as they could towards the House to make their Report; but coming near it they perceiv'd it Surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the Women Schrieking, whereupon being unarmed and totally unable to Rescue their Father, they took Care to Preserve their own Lives, in hopes of seeing Justice done upon his Murtherers.

The loud Cry of so much Innocent Blood so inhumanly Spilt, being increased by the Horror of a greater Deluge intended to be let out in the same Manner, could not be confin'd by the Neighbouring Mountains; but was quickly spread over that whole Kingdom, and from thence into *England*, the good Nature of the People here, would not suffer them to believe so Barbarous a Tragedy could be Acted by any who bore the Name of Protestants, so that it was cried down as a *Jacobite* Invention to defame the Government; but in *Scotland* where the Truth of it was publickly known, tho' the Saints might look upon it as a Meritorious Act, to Root out those whom they might think as great Enemies to God as to the *Kirk*, yet it raised the Abhorrence of all, whose Zeal had not burnt up their Humanity and stifled their Reason

Reason, they could not look on the bloody Actors of it without Detestation, and these producing their Orders for what they had done, were so far from being ashamed of it, that *Campbell* said publicly in the Royal Coffee-House at *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again, nay, that he would stab any Man in *England* or *Scotland*, without asking the Cause, if the King gave him Orders, and that it was every good Subjects Duty so to do; and tho' this may seem an uncommon Stretch of Obedience, especially in a Reign of Liberty and Property, yet it seems it was thought so Orthodox, that two of the Officers, who had given their Parole of Honour to *Mac-jan*, refusing to stain their Hands in so dishonourable a Butchery, were for their Disobedience sent Prisoners to *Glasgow*.

By what *Campbell* said, it seems, he thought he had acted in Obedience to the King's Commands, gradually convey'd to him, and indeed, when the Orders were trac'd from one Officer to another, they came so near the Throne, that it was thought fit, out of great Decency and good Manners, to stop the Search; so that it was hush'd up without any Inquisition for Blood, any Prosecution for Robbery, or so much as a Petition or Address about it; and Sir *John Lawder* refusing to accept the Place of Lord Advocate of *Scotland*, unless he might have Liberty to prosecute the Murtherers of *Glenco*: It was not thought fit to be granted; but the Office was bestow'd on Mr. *James Stuart*, with a Knight-hood to reward the good Services he had done in the Court of King *James*.

And

And thus slept this melancholly Affair above three Years, in which Time indeed, I find only one Session of the Scottish Parliament, and in that there was no Notice taken of it. But the Earl of *Tweeddale* being appointed his Majesty's Commissioner, and the Parliament being to assemble, whether it was thought the Enquiry could not be stav'd off any longer, or whether Secretary *Johnston* had underhand encouraged it to give a Lift to *Dalrymple* the other Secretary, and since Earl of *Staire*, thro' whose Hands this Matter had pass'd (which *Johnston* had Interest enough to do, and the Method of the Proceedings makes it very probable) his Majesty was advis'd to send down a Commission to some trusty Persons, with private Instructions, to keep it in *petto*, unless the Parliament should enter upon the Business; and in that Case to produce the Commission, which would at once shew his Majesty's Innocence and his Care to have the Matter examined; and also, keep it out of the Hands of Parliament Committees, who possibly might not dish it up in so cleanly a Manner.

¶ *Gazettes* The Parliament met the 9th of *May* 1695, and the 21th, the Committee for Security of the Kingdom moving for an Enquiry into the Matter of *Glenco*, *Tweeddale* acquainted the Parliament, that the King had given Commission to several Persons to make exact Enquiry into it; which Commission being the next Day produc'd and read, they desired their humble Thanks might be transmitted to his Majesty for his Care to vindicate the Honour of the Government, and the Justice of the Nation.

June

June 25th, on reading a Report of the Commissioners, with the Depositions, the King's Instructions and several Letters from the Master of *Stair's* it was voted, *Nemine contradicente*, that his Majesty's Instructions of 11th and 16th of July 1691, contain'd no Warrant for the Execution of the *Glenco Men* made in February thereafter ; but this which is call'd an Execution, they immediately voted a Murther.

The *Wednesday* following, after some Debate, whether they should begin with *Stair's* Letters or the Actors of the Murder ; the Letter with the King's Instructions to *Levingston* and *Hill*, and the fourth Article of the Opinion of the Commission relating to the Master of *Stair's*, were read, and on further Debates, the Question being stated whether the Letters did exceed the King's Instructions, it was carryed in the Affirmative.

June 27th, The Orders given by Sir *Thomas Levingston* were examin'd, and the Question being put, whether they exceeded the Letters and Instructions, it was carried in the Negative : For he receiving both together, must needs understand the Instructions in the extended Sense, which the Letters gave them, and he, it seems, had been so cautious, as to copy the Words of both in his Orders ; so that upon the whole, he had Reason for what he did.

July 2d, Colonel *Hill* was in like Manner clear'd, *Nemine contradicente* ; but Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* not appearing, either perhaps because he was not in the Country, or that he was to be made the Scape-Goat, they voted that he was not clear of the Murder ; and then proceeding against the other Persons that were
Actors

Actors therein, it was voted, that his Majesty should be address'd to send them Home, to be prosecuted *or not*, as his Majesty should think fit. After which, Thanks were return'd to *Tweedale* for laying the Discovery before them, and to the Commissioners for their careful Procedure therein, and there was an End of the Matter.

What mumbling of Thistles is here! How the hot Iron is shifted from one Hand to another, a Murder voted, and no Body guilty! The King's Instructions give no Warrant for it, but the Secretaries Letters exceed the King's Instructions; so *Levingston* and *Hill* have Reason for what they do. *Hamilton*, tho' as Innocent as the rest, is not clear'd, because he does not appear; and as to the Actors of it, his Majesty may if he please send them Home to be prosecuted *or not*, as he shall think fit; and this is the Satisfaction that must be made for that which was a most barbarous Murder from the Top to the Bottom.

The Men mark'd out for Slaughter and Destruction had been all along of the Loyal Party, and several of them had indeed been in Arms for King *James*, but for 18 Months before had been quiet in their own Houses, and employed in their lawful Occasions; but they had formerly been troublesom to the Saints, had assisted in quelling their Rebellions, and seperating their riotous Field-Meetings, and had been quarter'd in their Houses to keep them Quiet; and it was not enough now to return their Visit, but they must be destroyed and cut off from the Land.

The

The giving them Time to take the Oaths till the first of *January* was only a Snare; they might, by the Situation of their Country, have avoided their Ruin if had been attempted in the Summer; therefore says *Dalrymple* to *Hamilton* in one of his Letters, which were laid before the Parliament--- *The Winter is the only Season in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us--- Human Constitution cannot endure to be long out of Houses: This is the proper Season to maul them in the cold, long Nights.* These Letters are dated in the Beginning of *December*; and in a Letter to *Levingston* afterwards, he gives a Bill of Fare of this delicious Feast so pleasing to his Gusto--- To destroy entirely the Country of *Lochabar, Locheals, Lands, Keppochs, Appins, and Glenco, assuring him, that his Powers shall be full enough, and expecting they will find little Resistance, but from the Season, he hopes the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Prisoners; and to this good Purpose, the Troops which were in the South had Orders to March towards the Highlands.*

Thus far they went before the Time limited for taking the Oaths was expired, in Hopes the Clans would all stand out, and be maul'd, as the Secretary words it. But *Limerick* being taken, whereby King *James* lost the last Foothold he had in his Three Kingdoms, his Cause becoming Desperate, and they not desiring to lie at the Mercy of their Enemies, most of them thought fit to take the Benefit of the Indemnity, to the great Disappointment of those Ravens which croak'd at the Smell of their Carcasses.

Our

Our Gazetteer gave us an Account, That these Highlanders were come in, that the rest were inclinable to Submit, and desired some further Time; that Cameron of Locheal was going for England, to give Assurance of their Sincerity; so that it was believed there would be no Occasion for the Forces to March towards the Highlands, as they had Orders to do: And the Secretary, in a Letter, Jan. 9. tells Sir T. Levingston, We have an Account, that Locheal, Macnaughton, Appin, and Glenco, took the Benefit of the Indemnity at Inverary and Keppoch, and others at Inverness; but instead of being pleased with this Compliance, he could have wish'd, the Mac-Donalds had not divided, and is very sorry, that Keppoch and Mac-jan of Glenco are safe, and notwithstanding they had all submitted, or were inclinable to do so, he promises the Instructions shall be dispatched on Monday.

And on Monday, which was the 11th of January, they were dispatch'd accordingly; part of which did (it seems) contain an Order, To fall with Fire and Sword upon all the Highland Clans who had not taken the Oaths:

With them Dalrymple sends a Letter to Levingston, wherein he tells him, he had sent the King's Instructions, super and subscribed by himself, (so careful was he to have a good Authority) and I am confident, says he, you will see there are very full Powers given you in very plain Terms, and yet the Method lest very much so your own Discretion; and tho' he had a just Account before of Glenco's having submitted, and the Place where he took the Oaths, yet he had no mind to rely on his own Intelligence; *quod volumus, facile credimus*; it seems Argyle had

had just told him the contrary, at which, says he, *I rejoyce, for it would be a great Work of Charity, to be exact in rooting out that damnable Sect; I have no Kindness for Keppoch, nor Glenco, it's well those People are in Mercy.*

But a noble Lord who then presided in the English Council, having got Intimation of this Matter, and honestly represented it to the King, as a thing so unknown in these Countries, which are govern'd by Laws, that Fire and Sword would sound very harshly, no such Words having ever been heard from any of our Native Kings; the former Order was mitigated by the Instructions of 16th of January; but yet there must be a Sacrifice, and we have heard who the Secretary had no Kindness for, therefore, *As to Mac-jan, of Glenco and that Tribe, if they can be well distinguish'd from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the Vindication of publick Justice to Extirpate that Set of Thieves.* This was also sign'd both at the Top and Bottom, like the other; and in the Secretary's Comment on this Text, he only translates the Word *Extirpate*, lest the Soldiers should not understand it, and intreats, that for a just Example of Vengeance, the theiving Tribe in Glenco may be rooted out in Earnest, and in his Letter to Hill of the same Date, that they may be rooted out to the Purpose; which, it seems, he had been taking some Pains about, for he says, *the Earl of Argyle and Brodalbin had promis'd, they should have no Retreat in their Bounds, that the Passes of Rannach would be secured, and in that Case, Argyle's Detachment in Island Stalker, must cut them off.* But he is still mighty fearful any of 'em should escape, therefore prays, *when any thing is*

resolv'd concerning Glenco, that it be secret and sudden, otherwise, says he, the Men will shift you, and 'tis better not to meddle with them, than not do it to the Purpose, to cut of that Nest of Robbers, who are fallen within the Mercy of the Law. By what Law it is Death to refuse an Oath I know not, but how they were fallen within Mercy, of which they were to have little enough, he explains in another Letter to *Levingston*, he found that *Mac-jan* had taken the Oaths; but it seems it was too late. *I am glad* (says he) *Glenco did not come in within the Time prescrib'd. I hope what is done there may be in Earnest, since the rest are not in a Condition to draw together to help them. I think to harry their Cattle or burn their Houses, is but to render them desperate lawless Men, to rob their Neighbours (which, it seems, they did not use to do; so that when he calls them a Thieving Tribe, or a Set of Thieves, the Words must not be taken according to the vulgar Acceptation) Therefore, they must be cut off, and it must be quietly done, otherwise they will make Shift for both the Men and their Cattle. Argyle's Detachment lies in Keppoch, well to assist the Garrison to do all on a Sudden.*

The Scent of innocent Blood being thus hotly pursu'd, the Massacre was made about a Fortnight after the Date of this last Letter. *Sir Thomas Levingston*, who was Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and *Hill* the Governor of *Fort William*, having receiv'd these Letters and Instructions, transmitted their Orders to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, which could not well exceed the Power they had receiv'd; so that their Business seems only to settle the Manner and Order of doing it, and to assign the several Posts. And *Hamilton* having receiv'd his Orders from them, writes the following Letter to Major *Robert Duncanson*.

SIR,

SIR, *Ballacholis, Febr. 12. 1692*

PER Second to the Commander in Chief,
and my Colonel's Orders to me for putting in Execution the Service commanded against the Rebels in *Glenco*, wherein you with the Party of the Earl of *Argyle's* Regiment under your Command, are to be concern'd : You are therefore forthwith to Order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assigned you be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with precisely by Five a Clock to morrow Morning, being *Saturday*, at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places, it will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South-side, that the old *Fox* nor none of his *Cubs* get away; the Orders are, that none be spared from Seventy of the Sword, *nor the Government troubled with Prisoners*. This is all, until I see you, from

Your humble Servant,

JAMES HAMILTON.

P. S. ' Please to Order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there; and the Boats must be all on this Side the Ferry after your Men are over.

For their Majesties Service; for Major Robert Duncanson, of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment.

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The Major hereupon sends his Order to
Campbell, as follows :

SIR,

Ballacholis, Feb. 12: 1692.

‘ **Y**OU are hereby order’d to fall upon the
 ‘ Rebels, the *Mac Donalds* of *Glenco*,
 ‘ and put all to the Sword under Seventy. You
 ‘ are to have especial Care, that the old *Fox*
 ‘ and his Sons do upon no Account escape your
 ‘ Hands: You are to secure all the Avenues
 ‘ that no Man escape. This you are to
 ‘ put in Execution at Five a Clock in the
 ‘ Morning precisely, and by that time, or ve-
 ‘ ry shortly after it, I’ll strive to be at you with
 ‘ a stronger Party: If I do not come to you at
 ‘ Five, you are not to tarry for me, but to
 ‘ fall on. *This is by the King’s special Com-*
 ‘ *mand*, for the Good and Safety of the Coun-
 ‘ try, that these Miscreants may be cut off
 ‘ Root and Branch. See that this be put in
 ‘ Execution without Feud or Favour, else you
 ‘ may expect to be treated as not true to
 ‘ the King or Government, nor fit to carry
 ‘ Commission in the King’s Service, expecting
 ‘ you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as
 ‘ you love your self; I subscribe these with
 ‘ my Hand,

ROBERT DUNCANSON.

For their Majesties Service; to Captain
Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.

You

You have here the whole Train of this Affair, as far as it can be gather'd from what has been publish'd relating to it; and I believe it would puzzle a good Casuist to distinguish who is the most guilty Person, or a skilful Advocate to clear the Innocence of any of those concern'd. If the Clause above quoted was in the King's Instructions, how could it be said, they contain'd no Warrant for the Execution, unless by a Chicane upon the Force of the Word proper: But if the King had been betray'd, or his Instructions abused, and he had not approv'd the Fact, his Innocence had been easily clear'd, by giving up those who were guilty; instead of which, some of them were afterwards farther promoted or dignify'd, and none of them publicly discouraged or discountenanc'd; wherein the King has seem'd to exceed those of his Predecessors, who thought themselves accountable only to God for their Actions; and he has not condescended so far as to clear himself either to God or Man.

As to the Secretary, tho' he must be look'd upon as the main Wheel in this Movement, and is extreamly solicitous that the Work be done to the Purpose; yet all he has said seems only a Paraphrase on the Instructions, and cannot exceed the Word *Extirpate*, which carries all Manner of Death and utter Destruction in its Belly, and might have been extended as far as God's Command to *Saul* against the *Amalekites*; so that instead of an exceeding, there seems to have been a subsequent Restriction in Favour of those above seventy, with the Women and Children.

But how can *Levingston* and *Hill* be justify'd, if the Orders were illegal, were they oblig'd to put them in Execution ; is a Soldier to cut any Man's Throat at the Command of his Superior, or was it consistent with the Honour of *Hill* in particular, to forward an Act so contrary to his own Protection and Promise ? Kings can do no Wrong if their Officers and Ministers keep within the legal Bounds of their Duty : But here was an Excess of active Obedience, which the Highest Tories never pretended to justify. I need not go on to the under Actors ; since whatever can excuse or condemn these, must affect them in the same Manner ; so that upon the whole, they will by any equitable Construction, appear all equally guilty, unless the lower you go, you will think 'em more innocent because more ignorant, and more implicitly under Command.

'Tis true, the Lives of Men were of no great Value with the King, as appears in his History, by his often throwing them away without Occasion, and especially in the Memorable Instance of the Battle of *St. Denis*, where many thousands were sacrific'd to a vain *Gasconade*, when he knew the Peace was concluded. If he had had any Share of that Tendernefs and Philantrophy which has been observ'd to be a main Ingredient in the noblest and most heroic Natures, he could not have commanded Fifty poor wounded English Soldiers to be burnt together in a Barn in *Ireland*, by some of his Countrymen, when an English Officer had bravely refus'd that unnatural Piece of Service ; which Story is affirm'd to be true, and tho' he was not otherwise remarkable for good Husbandry, is said to have

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Revolution

have been done to save the Trouble and Charge of their Cure. But tho' his Soul was Proof against the softer Passions, and no Action in his Life discovers that he was capable either of Remorse or Pity; yet he could not have been guilty of so cruel a Piece of Tyranny as this in *Scotland*, without any Provocation or Necessity, if he had not been push'd on by the violent Instigations and implacable Malice of those *whose Hearts devise wicked Imaginations, whose Feet are swift to Wickedness, and their Hands to shed innocent Blood*; an Action which no modern History can equal, but must send us for a Parallel to the most detested Tyrants of Antiquity. And as it had been alone sufficient to have blotted a Life otherwise blameless, must fix and encrease the Stains upon his Memory, and eat thro' all the Gilding his Flatterers have bestow'd upon him.

While the Northern Whiggs were glutting their Revenge, those in the South Parts of the Island were no less Busie in feeding their Avarice; if they did not drink so deep of the Blood and Tears of their Fellow-Subjects, they made their Prey without Measure on the Publick, which is something worse than Robbery, and a kind of Political Murder, the Treasure of a Nation being as it's Blood and Virals. Tho' it was but a small Number that openly set up the Title of Conquest, they all made the most they could of the Plunder, in which, like the Rabble of an Army, the most Worthless were the most forward; and this the King was obliged to wink at, by the Noise of their pretended Services. They made their Claim by a kind of Partition Treaty, in which their Proportion was never to be satisfied, those who had

not been worthy to bring Mortar to the Building, expecting to be paid as Master-Workmen ; but besides our Native Depredators, we had a new Race of *Lordanes* brought over with the King, who came like Wolves hungry and bold to their Prey ; so that between one and the other, the Damsel was worse used by the Knight-Errant, than she could have been by the Giant, from whom they had pretended to Deliver her ; The Gleanings of the Rents and Lands - Revenues , to the Value of above half a Million, and almost a Million more out of the Irish Forfeitures (which were afterwards resumed) were but a Mouthful to these Cormorants, the War necessitated the raising of vast Sums of Money ; never was the Nation engaged in so great an Expende, and instead of the Oeconomy necessary to enable the Support of it, never was so loose a Management : Private Estates shot up like Mushrooms in the several Offices ; and while the Government was in Danger of becoming Bankrupt, it's Servants rioted in such Wealth and Plenty, that the bare handling of a Brush in some of those Offices was the ready Way to a plentiful Fortune, as if the Public Treasure had been thrown there only for the Officers to sweep it into their own Pockets : Millions were taken up on great Interest, and Premiums, to tie the monied Men to the new Government by the Purse-strings, and the Money given by Parliament imbezled, notwithstanding the Promises from the Throne of a just Application, while those who furnish'd any thing for the Public Service, were paid with distant Tallies, which crept up by Degrees to 40 or 50 per Cent. Discount. From these

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Depeculations proceeded even in the first Step of the War, the Non-payment of the Transport Service for *Ireland*, the furnishing unwholsome Provisions which kill'd Half our Army, the Remainder being forced to Plunder the Country for want of their Pay, for which the Parliament V. Address March 4. 1692. was in Hopes they had made full Provision: From hence arose the great Loss of Seamen, which in four Years time was computed at 100000 either Dead, or run out of their Pay: From hence the Public Debt is at length grown to that immense Sum, that besides the Annual Charge of the War, it requires above 2 Millions yearly to keep down the Interest, while the Weight of the Principal is like to lie on the Shoulders of our Posterity; and from hence we see several now riot in Luxury, and loll at Ease in their gilt Coaches, of which, a standing on the Outside had been more suitable to their Merit and Extraction.

It had been some Excuse if these good Stewards who were making such liberal Provision for themselves, had taken any Care in the mean time no Body else should Cheat the Nation, and that by a prudent Management, the Publick being saved as much as possible from other Losses, might have been less sensible of their Rapine; instead of which *England* was loaded with heavier Burthens than were just or equal; from Accessories, as we ought to have been, we became Principals in the War, which was carried on in the most expensive and ruinous Methods, whereby great Sums of Money were sent Abroad, without a Prospect of ever returning; which, by exerting our selves at Sea, might have been kept circulating among our own People.

ple. Commerce, which is the greatest Support of this Nation at all Times, and which then ought to have been more particularly taken Care of to replenish the Body Politic with the Blood and Spirits exhausted by the War, was either scandalously Neglected, or designedly Ruined, by those who pretend to be its greatest Patrons and Encouragers; our Naval Affairs were so loosely managed, that in the Course of that War, it was computed there were 3000 of our Ships taken by the *French*, to the Loss and Damage of 20 Millions; and as the *French* stole away our Ships, the *Dutch* were so kind as to steal our Trade, that we might have less Occasion to Rebuild them; while we at an insupportable Expence, were labouring to bring them up to a Level with their Neighbours, they underhand took all the Care they could to bring us down below themselves: Not to mention the Prohibition of Trade with *France*, which they kept open, nor their impairing our *Russia* and *Greenland* Trades, or their serving even our own Army with those Things which might have been better Exported from hence; To this Management is owing the intire Ruin of the *African* Trade, to the great Damage of that of our Plantations; and they were not contented to undermine the Company here, but attacked them openly on the Coast, driving them by armed Force out of two Factories, one whereof yielded them Forty Marks of Gold *per Menssem*, the other not much less, besides other Commodities, the *Dutch* encouraging the Negroes to attack their Fort at a Place called *Commenda*, by telling them, That the *English* were a conquer'd People

People, over whom the *Dutch* had made their Servant or Stadtholder, a King and Governor, and that they were not any longer able to assist them, or Trade with them; and the Negroes, who were only a Rout without Discipline or Ammunition, being repulsed, the *Dutch* not only renew'd their Instigations, but turn'd the Guns of their own Fort on the *English* Factory, and forced them to leave and abandon it; which Affront and Injustice was overlook'd and tamely digested.

I cannot think it was out of any Principle of Honour or Conscience, or any Self-Denial, that the Earl of *Portland* refused 50000 *l.* to procure a Confirmation of the Charter to the *East-India* Company; those Qualities did not belong to any Part of his Character, but that he was better Rewarded on the other side, whose Interest it was to weaken and embarrass that Trade: With this View was the Company laid under innumerable Difficulties, a new One was started up to create Factions and Divisions, and afterwards another erected in *Scotland*, with very large and strange Immunities, not so much out of Kindness to the *Scots*, as Hatred to the *English*; for it is probable, the abandoning of *Darien*, which might have been of very great Advantage since, was owing to the same Councils. But nothing of this Nature was to be wonder'd at, when Men of Foreign Birth and Inclinations were trusted in the Affairs of a Country, where after all the Obligations laid upon them, they must still look upon themselves only as Sojourners, and when they not only sat in our Councils, and were ranked among

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our Nobles, but *Dutch* Ministers abroad did at once act with Powers from both Nations, where, if the Interests of their Masters should chance to clash, it must be expected which would be prefer'd.

The Hazards and Discouragements of Foreign Trade, and the Advantages of Money in the Government, made Men withdraw their Effects from the one, to deal with greater Security and Advantage in the other, the Voyage between the *Exchange* and the *Exchequer* was short and safe, and within that Compass was much the greatest Part of the Money in the Nation employed. By these Means we were in a manner Beat out of our own Ports, and saw riding in our Harbours, more Ships of Foreign Nations than of our own. The Customs were sunk near 140000 *l. per Annum*, and instead of the Value of the Goods and Merchandizes chargeable with those Duties, we had a new imaginary Treasure of Tallies, Orders, Debentures, Exchequer and Navy Bills, &c. which some are so Vain as to think an Increase of Wealth to the Nation; others, who did not understand that Way of Dealing, fell into more destructive Projects of Dipping, Diving, Salt-Petre-Works, Copper-Mines, Linen-Manufactures, and other strange Whims, which ruin'd and impoverish'd divers Families; so that without the Expence we lay under, the Kingdom must have been very much sunk in Value.

The Military Part of the Nation fared no better than the Mercantile, the Land Army King *William* used as if he were to punish them for ill serving their former Master rather than to Encourage them to serve him better, and those

those who were either jealous of their Honour; or careful of their Interest, were look'd upon with an evil Eye; for this, our brave English General *Talmash* was exposed to the certain Loss of his Life or Reputation; and when the House of Lords address'd the King, setting forth, *That by the Capitulation in 1678. the English Commander and Officer in every Degree was to Command any any other Confederate Officer of the same Rank, (except those of Crowned Heads) without Regard to the Date of their respective Commissions; and that the contrary Practise in this War was to the Diminution of the Honour of the Crown of England, and the general Dissatisfaction of his Majesties Subjects, desiring, That the Chief Commander of English Forces under his Majesty should be a Subject born in his Dominions; That no Foreigner should be of the Board of Ordnance, or Keeper of the Stores in the Tower of London; nor any Strangers employed in the Office of Ordnance.* All the Answer they could obtain was, *That he would Consider of it; which in consequence amounted to a Negative.* Feb. 18. 1692.

Tho' the English in general were never charged with want of Charity or good Nature; it could not but move their Gall, when after *Beachy-Head Fight*, the Dutch Ships were repaired and refitted at the English Charge, their wounded Men taken particular Care of, and Rewards given to the Widows of those who were kill'd, for want of which our Natives here and in *Ireland* languish'd at the same Time; but Humiliations of this Nature came so thick upon us, that at length they were look'd upon as Natural Phenomena's, and were no more wonder'd at than Wind or Rain. Gazette, July 25. 1690.

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Depreda-
tions.

The Abuses committed in forcing Men (who fancied themselves Freeborn) into the Service, which were complain'd of in the Address above, are not here to be taken Notice of, but to be number'd among the necessary Irregularities in a time of War: But that the Dutch should ever be Authoris'd to exact a Tenth Man out of every English Ship going into their Harbours, towards the Manning of their Fleet, as they say was then practis'd, it was so great an Invasion on our Trade and Liberties, and such a Dishonour to the English Name and Nation, that tho' I should have mention'd it under another Head, it cannot be pass'd over in Silence.

Thus perhaps by Degrees our Riders thought to debase the English Spirits, and bring them to submit to the Pack-Saddle of a Dutch Religion and Government; for all this while they did not loose the View of their grand Point, and were not so Negligent in their own Cause, as in that of the Nation in general: They had sufficiently discover'd their natural Weakness, and were taking all possible Methods to strengthen themselves, and weaken their Adversaries. The Church Preferments were distributed to none but such Lukewarm *Laodiceans* as would be easie under any Form of Religion; and a Number of Temporal Peers of the same Stamp rais'd and created to procure an Over-balance in the House of Lords. No Pains were spared to bring over young Gentlemen of Estates and Quality into their Party, the Vices and Failings of their Years or Complexions were meanly complied with, by our State *Proteus's*, and under the Insinuations of

of Liberty and Free-thinking, they were dub'd Libertines and Latitudinarians. The Clergy, who retain'd any of the old Principles of the Church of *England* were insulted and ridiculed like the Foxes in the Fable, who had consented to the cutting off their own Tails by their Fellow, which had lost his before. Comparisons were made between dry and wet Martyrdom; the Church-men were charged with being as deep in the Mud as the others had been in the Mire; and the Church of *England* was civilly compared to a Strumpet, which had strangled her natural Offspring of Passive Obedience with her own Hands; the Test was sometimes nibbled at, the vain, I had almost said ridiculous Notion of a Comprehension was kept alive, into which the good Queen was drawn, by some of the new Lawn Sleeves; and a general Naturalization, which is one of the constant Engines of the Party, was aimed at, under the Pretence of increasing Trade and People, but in reality to strengthen the Dissenting Interest in Boroughs and Corporations, and thereby make an Alteration in the Representative.

In the House of Commons, the detestable Art of Poisoning our Constitution by Corrupting the Members with Gifts, Places, and Preferments, was practis'd with more Application and Success than it had ever been; insomuch, that *hear him, hear him*, was turn'd into a By-word, *Hire him, hire him*; and for several Years, there was a great Majority which Voted just as they were directed: All these Grievances and corrupt Practises, with the Designs and Tendency of them, were discerned and regretted by several Publick Spirited Patriots; some of whom

whom owning the fairest Principles of the Whiggs, had formerly Yoak'd with them, but detesting their foul Practices, now deserted them; but it was not in the Power of these few Worthies to stand against the stronger Band, who for their common Safety were as firmly compacted as a *Macedonian Phalanx*, so that there was no breaking into them. Bills for Triennial Parliaments, for regulating Proceedings in Parliament, and for taking Publick Accounts, were rejected; the King *did not design the Crown should be worse for his wearing it*; and he never expected to meet with a Parliament fitter for his Purpose: But after two or three Repulses, they were again attack'd by Mr. *Harley*, with the former of these Bills, which was then pass'd into an Act.

To divert the Clamour of Imbezlements, Corruptions and publick Grievances, it was the Custom at the Opening of every Session of Parliament to start a new Plot, which was so useful, that the *Lancashire* Gentlemen, after that Plot was baffled, were discourag'd and debarr'd from taking a legal Course for the Satisfaction due to injur'd Innocence; these were renew'd to keep up an Aversion against those they call'd Jacobites, among whom they presently listed all such as had the Presumption to open their Mouths in any Complaint or Remark on Mismanagements or Oppressions, till at length the Trick being so often repeated, it mov'd Laughter instead of Indignation, so that it was necessary to bring one upon the Stage with some Foundation of Truth, *Portland's* Welch Grant added to the exorbitant Donations already confer'd upon him and others, the ill State of the
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Coin, the Weight of the Taxes and other Disgusts, had put the People sufficiently out of Humour; but all this was rectify'd by the barbarous, wretched Project of the Assassination, whether *Pendergrafs* and others were not from the Beginning, the Decoy-Ducks to draw the rest into that silly Noose? And how long it was under the Cognizance and Direction of some at the Helm, I cannot pretend to affirm, but I must own, that I cannot, without the deepest Concern, think that any should enter into so base a Design, who own'd themselves Members of that Church, which from her first Establishment, till within a very few Years, could have the peculiar Honour of boasting, that she never had bred a Rebel or an Assassin.

The Discovery of this Plot had all the Effect that could be desired from it, except only one Part. The Detestation of so base an Attempt, made every one so ready to give Demonstrations of his Loyalty, that when the Association, which was at first voluntary, was afterwards made compulsory, very few refused it, whereby they baulk'd the Hopes and Expectations of those who loaded them with it, more out of Design upon Benefices and Employments than Care of the Government.

But tho' this amused the People for the present, yet the Sence of their Pain soon return'd, they grew weary of a loitering, fruitless War, carry'd on at an excessive Charge; and the Duke of *Savoy* having made a separate Peace; the Queen Mother of *Spain* being dead, who had a great Influence there, which she improv'd to the best Advantage of the Confederacy, the ill State of that King's Health being such as threatned his sudden Dissolution; and

and *Holland* being no less weary of the War than we, the King was contented to hearken to a Peace, which was concluded on worse Terms, than might have been obtain'd three Years before, when *France*, tho' successful in the Field, being more fiercely attack'd by meagre Famine, than all her other Enemies, was forc'd to sue and make large Offers for Peace; the rejecting which, cost several Millions, to come to a worse Bargain, which might have been a Warning to the same Set of Men at a like Conjunction in the present War, if they had had that real Regard which they pretend to have, either to the Good of these Kingdoms or the Allies in general.

After the Peace was concluded, the Whigg Ministry apprehending they should be laid by, enter'd into a Compact with King *William*, that if he would keep them and their Friends in the Ministry, they would use their utmost Interest in the House of Commons to procure him a standing Army; which they struggl'd very hard for. These pretended Patriots, who a few Years before had nothing in their Mouths but the sacred Name of Liberty, who in the late Reign would not allow the King the Prerogative that was due to him, and which was absolutely necessary to put in Motion the Machine of the Government, and to make the Springs and Wheels of it act naturally, and perform their Function. Those who could not hear with Patience of the King's ordinary Guards, could now discourse familiarly of 20000 Men to be maintain'd in Time of Peace; but in this Attempt they fail'd, and the King was oblig'd to send Home the Blue-coats, at which

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which the Reluctance he shew'd to Part with them was as consistent with his Declaration as the Endeavours of the Faction to keep them here, were agreeable to their former Notions; but they made no Difficulty now on all Occasions to screw up the Prerogative a second Time, to as extravagant a Pitch as they had before depressed it.

Upon a bare View of the Articles of the Peace at *Ryswick*, a Man might swear, by what Hands they were transacted; tho' *England* was at the greatest Expence in the War, she had the least Advantage by the Peace; the *Empire* had several Provinces and Fortresses restored, *Spain* had the like; the *Dutch* had their Frontiers secured, their Trade with *France* settled, their foreign Plantations yielded up, and the Advantages they had gain'd over the *French* in the *East-Indies*, were confirm'd to them: But for us, we were forced to abandon to the *French*, V. Art. 8. those Places in *Hudson's-Bay* which we had lost before the War, tho' the Company had at their own Charge retaken them; we had no Satisfaction for our Fishery in *Newfoundland*, for our Losses at Sea for the Right of the Flag, nor any Provision for the Ease of *English* Protestants in *France*, tho' these were made use of, as the Occasions of the War, and so set forth in the Declaration; and as to the Succession, it was so far from being guaranteed, that it was not so much as mention'd; for which criminal Silence, they perhaps had certain Reasons best known to themselves.

The Conclusion of the Peace without the V. Art. Agreement of the Emperor, altho' manifestly 3, 4, 5. contradictory to the Grand Alliance, was not

censured as Dishonourable or *Unjust*; for in Truth, no Confederate War is likely ever to have an End but by a seperate Peace, there being hardly a Possibility of meeting with any Conjunction, (even from the greatest Success) wherein all the Allies can have their Expectations and Demands answer'd, nor perhaps would all the Parties wish for such a one: But tho' the Interest and Honour of *England*, which was thought to be of nearer Concern, was, in this Treaty, so shamefully neglected or willfully sacrificed, the *Tories* neither moved their Tongues or Pens against it; nor was it in any Kind reflected on the Ministry, they had more Regard to the Prerogative of the Crown, and more Respect to the Person of the *King*, who they thought would be too nearly touched by such Procedures, they were glad to see an End of the War, wherein we were baffled by our Enemies, bubbled by our Allies, and rid to Death by a Pack of unnatural *English-Men*, and naturalized Foreigners; and hoped that the Remedy of these Distempers would be some of the Fruits of Peace, which they now expected to enjoy.

But there was new Work quickly cut out, the Chimera's of State-levelling, had got such Possession of the Heads of our Politicians, that Right and Wrong were no longer consider'd, but only Convenience, or what they called the Balance of Power. This Humour, which had plagued the *French King*, he had now the Address to turn to his Advantage. King *William* and the States of *Holland*, had by the Grand Alliance, stipulated to Support the Pretensions of the Emperor to the Succession of *Spain*, contrary to which, least he should grow too great by

By such an Accession of Power, they now by French Instigation, joined in a Treaty for a Partition of that Monarchy, whereby *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Spanish Places on the Coast of *Tuscany*, and the Islands adjacent, the City and Marquisate of *Final*, with the Province of *Guipuscoa*, were to be pared of, and annexed to *France*; the Dutchy of *Milan* was given to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and the rest of the Spanish Dominions were settled on the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, in Case of whose Death without Issue, they were by a seperate Article to go to the Elector and his Heirs. But the Young Prince being sent out of the World by a Natural Death, or by Poison, as his Father in his Manifesto charg'd it on the Emperor; a second Treaty was made, wherein *France* had a further Advantage, by the Addition of *Lorrain* to her Share, that Duke being sent to *Milan* for an Equivalent and *Spain* and the *Indies* were to descend to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, who is now Emperour and to his Heirs, with this special Caution, that they should never be in the same Hands with the Empire, by which it seems, that after the Lopping off so many fair Branches it was still thought dangerous to Unite the Riches of *Spain* to the Strength of *Germany*.

If it be ask'd what Right these three Powers had to Canton and divide Kingdoms, with which two of them had nothing to do, and the third not much more, if the strongest Renunciations are of any Force, or why the Son of *Bavaria* having a Claim to that Succession, as undoubtedly he had by his Mother, who was Grand-Daughter to *Philip IV.* of *Spain* (which was to be prefer'd before the more remote Pre-

cession of the Emperor under *Philip III.*) should be wrong'd of any Part of it, which would not have been too much in his Hands, or in Case of his Death, how they could, to the Prejudice of the Emperor place the Elector on that Throne, to which he had no Manner of Right or Title, how they could afterwards set up a younger Son of the Emperor, without his, or his Heirs Consent or Renunciation, how they could force Princes to exchange away their Countries, or how agreeable it was to the New-fashion'd popular Notions of Government, to obtrude Kings and Governours over People, without their Consent or Knowledge, I can Answer nothing; the Affair indeed seem'd so Novel and strange, that tho' all the Potentates in Europe were invited into it, none of them lik'd it so well as to accept of the Invitation, and these Treaties were so much resented in *Spain*, that they were complain'd of here and in *Holland*, and to obviate them, a Will was made and confirm'd, in which those Dominions were all given to a Son of *France* as the most probable Method, to prevent the Dismembring of the Monarchy.

The Poor King of *Spain* did not live above a Month after the date of this Will, of which and of his Death, the Junto presently sent Notice to the French King, who being in a Manner left to his Alternative, for Want of a Provision, what should be done in such a Case, which was wisely omitted, in both the Treaties, chose to accept of the Will under Pretence of adhering to the Design of those Treaties, for the Preservation of the Peace of Europe, tho' he had receded from the Terms of them, and was

was presently let into the Possession, not only of *Spain* it self, but of all the Spanish Dominions. The Elector of *Bavaria*, in one Day admitting French Troops, under the Notion of Auxiliaries into all the Towns in the Spanish Low-Countries, where the Dutch had any Forces in Garrison, and Prince *Vaudemont* and others submitting to him, in *Milan* and other Places, whereby the Consequence of the Peace prov'd more destructive, than the Continuance of the War could possibly have been. The Elector had indeed Reason to be angry with the Emperor, and doubtless resented the total Rejection of his Interest by *England* and *Holland* in the second Treaty of Partition, after they had by the first put him in Hopes of a Crown; and perhaps on the other Side his Ambition was flatter'd with the Thoughts of an Empire, as an Equivalent for the Loss of a Kingdom. Thus, I believe, was that gallant, unfortunate Man induc'd to follow those Councils which have led him to his Ruin, for I cannot be brought to suspect him of the treacherous Conduct with which he is charg'd in the former War.

The Duke of *Anjou* having thus got Possession, was by the States of *Holland*, first, and afterwards by King *William*, acknowledg'd as King of *Spain*, and congratulated on his Accession to that Throne; but the States, who had no Reason to be fond of the Neighbourhood of the French so near them, not being very well prepar'd for War, enter'd into Conferences with *France*, whereto *England* was admitted, in which were demanded, as a Barrier for the Dutch, the Cities and Fortresses of *Venlo*, *Puremonde*, *Stevenswarte*, *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, *Dendermonde*, *Damme* and *St. Donas*,
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with their Appurtenances: For the *English*, *Newport* and *Ostend*, with Security for the Commerce of both Nations; and for the Emperor a reasonable Satisfaction for his Pretensions to the Succession of *Spain*, and what was understood to be that Satisfaction, may be explain'd by the fifth Article of the Grand Alliance, enter'd into about six Months afterwards, whereby the Allies were oblig'd to use their best Efforts to conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, with its Dependences, as being a Fief of the Empire, and the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Islands in the *Mediterranean* and the Places on the Coast of *Tuscany* depending on the Crown of *Spain*, as being advantageous to the Commerce of *England* and *Holland*.

This was all that was then demanded, not a Word of conquering *Spain* and the *Indies* then; that was a new Incident grafted afterwards by some, whose Interest it was to continue the War to the Ruin of this Nation; after we had a Prospect of attaining the End first propos'd, but these Demands were thought too much, and rejected, and perhaps those who made 'em expected no otherwise, the Treaty seeming rather to be intended for an Amusement, while they had got their Soldiers out of the Towns in *Flanders*, and made other Provisions for their Defence.

While these Matters were in Agitation abroad, and this Progress of *France* had put all the rest of *Europe* under Apprehensions, a new Parliament was assembled here, the Interest of the Faction, as the People return'd to their Senses, gradually declining, and those Gentlemen, who in the House of Commons oppos'd their illegal and corrupt Practises, which Number did not
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at first exceed Fourscore, increasing in a like Proportion, after the third Parliament of King *William*, which was in Being at the Time of the Peace of *Ryswick*, had sat almost their three Years, they were dissolv'd, and in order to influence the Elections, the Commissions of the Peace and Lientenancy were chang'd throughout the greatest part of *England*, and Men of no Birth, Fortunes, or Reputation, and many of them profess'd Dissenters, were put into the Places of their Betters, yet all this did not only prove in vain, but was complain'd of in Parliament, which with the Resumption of the Irish Forfeitures and some other unpalatable Proceedings, put the King so much out of Humour, that he parted with them in Silence, without taking his Leave, as usual, after which was summon'd his fifth Parliament, wherein the Faction was still further distanc'd.

No sooner were they met, but they gave his Majesty an Assurance, that they would stand by and support him and his Government, and take effectual Care of the Interest and Safety of *England*, the Protestant Religion and the Peace of *Europe*; this was carry'd by the whole House, and his Majesty after Thanks given having desir'd their Advice on a Memorial from the States-General, setting forth their uneasy Condition by the Incroachments of *France*, it produc'd the next Day an Address for a Sight of the Treaty between *England* and the States-General in 1677, and on the Sight of that, another Address, the next Day, was unanimously voted and presented by the whole House, to refer to his Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct the Making of Leagues and Treaties with the States-General

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ral, and such other Potentates as he should think fit, which was kindly receiv'd, all this being done within a Week after the King's first Speech, with such Unanimity and Dispatch as was never known in any Parliament before, upon Matters of so great Importance.

They did not indeed immediately vote a Declaration of War, they had more Regard for the Prerogative and the Ability of the King in these Matters, than to interpose any more than their hearty Assurance of their Support and Assistance towards what he should judge requisite, besides, which they consider'd, that our Neighbours in *Holland*, who were nearer the Danger, had not yet declar'd War, but had, by owning the Duke of *Anjou* as King, given Earnest of their peaceable Disposition, and offer'd, as it were, to compound for Quiet, that by shewing an over-forward Zeal and declaring War first, we might make our selves Principals, when we needed only to be seconds, and bring our selves under a Necessity of asking that Succour from them, which they ought rather to beg of us; nor was it thought prudent to put the Probity of those Friends to so severe a Test, as to try whether they would sell us or not; if, after we were engag'd they had had Offers to assist the *French*, or only for a Neutrality, which we may be sure they would not have wanted; as to our own Condition, the last War had left us low in Purse, Credit and Invention, weary of Taxes, jaded with Projects, our Funds anticipated and deficient, and loaded with a Debt of 18 Millions at high Interest, which were Reasons sufficient why our Representatives should not precipitate the Nation into a War, till they had consider'd of Methods to bear the Expence of it,

it; nor did they think they could be just to their Principals, without enquiring how their last Gifts had been Husbanded before they gave any more, and unless they called the unjust Stewards to Account to deter their Successors from the like corrupt Practices.

But there was something yet, which seem'd of absolute Necessity to be provided for, before the Nation was involved in a War, the Royal Line in *England* being in all Appearance put to a Period by the inestimable Loss of the Duke of *Glocester*, which open'd a wide Breach in those Banks we had been at so immense a Charge to cast up for the Defence of Religion and Property, it required the most sedate Thoughts, and most mature Consideration, of the united Wisdom of the Nation, to settle and secure the Succession of the Crown on such as had been nursed up in a Religion and Form of Government, not irreconcilable to our own. This obliged us to look once more Abroad, and to graft some Foreign Plants upon the Royal Stock, that we might not for Want of a timely Provision, be forced either by Faction among our selves, or Awe from Abroad, into such indigested Measures, as are the usual Result of tumultuous Councils called on the Surprise of sudden and great Emergencies.

But because the Admission of a Foreign Successor has a natural Tendency to alter our Constitution, of which they had an Example before their Eyes, it behoved them to provide a sufficient Security to preserve it, both in its Civil and Religious Parts, as entire as possible; to which End, having first agreed on those wise Limitations, which are contained in the Act of Parliament, the Succession after Her present Majesty was settled in the most Serene House of *Hanover*, as the nearest in Blood, who made Profession of the Protestant Religion, the Romish Branches being laid under Civil Incapacities of succeeding, according to their Proximity.

Our future Peace and Liberty being thus secured, and the Credit of the Nation and Supplies for the Navy being provided for, they begun to enquire into our Domestic Mismanagements; and because the Treaties of Partition which had been huddled up, not only without laying them before the Parliament, which was actually sitting, when the latter of them was concluded, but without being considered in Council, and were look'd on to be unjust in their own Nature, and fatal in their Consequences, both to this Nation and the Peace of *Europe*: Since if the French King had taken the other Part of the Alternative, the Ports and Islands he would have had in the *Mediterranean*, would have made him Master of the *Levant* Trade, and lock'd up the Dutchy of *Milan*, the Province of *Guipuscoa* would at any time have given him an Inlet into *Spain*, and the Dukedom of *Lorrain*, would have

have laid the Empire open to his Insults; They having Impeach'd the Lord Sommers, Earl of *Orford*, Lord *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Portland*, address'd his Majesty to remove them from his Presence and Councils, as the Advisers and Transactors of those pernicious Treaties, which produced a counter-Address from the other House, where that Party, by the Methods we have mentioned, was become much the strongest; however, their Address was receiv'd with Silence, the King not caring to disoblige the Commons, who went on and exhibited Articles in Maintenance of their Impeachment against three of them, in which the Piracies of Captain *Kidd*, under the Sanction of the Broad Seal, and his being mann'd and furnish'd out of her Majesty's Ships; as also exorbitant Grants, sham Purchases, Privy-Seals, Imbezlements and Misapplications, respectively made up the Charge against them.

These Lords and their Friends who had forwarded the Peace as the only Means to fix themselves in that Power, under which the People, loaded with the War, and not much less harass'd with their Oppressions, and justly displeased at their Administration, begun to be very uneasie; which Uneasiness, instead of being allai'd, was afterwards more increas'd; and tho' they had prevailed with the King to part with one Parliament in an unpopular Manner, yet when he found by the Elections, which Way the Tide was like to run in this, he thought it more prudent to drive down the Stream, than to set himself in Opposition to them, which might at that Juncture have been attended with the worst of Consequences: He therefore before their Meeting made an Alteration in the Ministry, taking in some of the Church Party, and, Teeth outwards, carried very fair with the Commons; yet his impatience to be in Action, his Concern for the Dutch and Affection to the Party made him disrelish these Proceedings, at least they had the Art to insinuate as much into the Ears of the People, and to terrifie them with the common Dangers of *Britain*, and its Allies, from the formidable united Force of *France* and *Spain*; That this was no time to look into Slips and Peccadillo's, and Quarrel one among another, but to exert our Selves with Vigour against the common Disturbers of the Peace of *Christendom*. On the other hand, the *Dutch* plied us with warm Cloths, Memorial after Memorial, and Message after Message, expatiating upon their dismal Apprehensions, which were commented upon and seconded by their Emisaries and Correspondents here, to push us headlong into the War, wherein they both had so great Interest, one to make us the Cats Foot, and increase their Strength and Territories at the Expence of *Britain*: The other in Hopes, that in the Confusions of War, they might have a Chance of reinstating themselves in the Advantages they had lately lost; therefore no Cost, Art, or Application, was wanting to that End; which had so good

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Success, that tho' one of them had some time before complain'd of a *Deadness and Want of Spirit in the Nation to a new War*, and that they seem'd to be tir'd out with Taxes, to a Degree beyond what could be discovered till it appear'd on Occasion of the Elections. The Noise and Cry for War was now rais'd by that turbulent Party to such a Height, that it seem'd to be the universal Voice of the People.

Taking the Advantage of this Humour, they infused into the People wild Suspicions of their Representatives, and so gross was the Delusion, that the Persons who had so well secured our Liberties in future Reigns, were censur'd as Lovers of Arbitrary Power; and those who had settled the Succession in the Protestant Line, branded as Favourers of the Court of St. Germans: Those who were for husbanding the Treasure of the Nation, were Enemies to the Public, and the Men who were for taking the best Methods possible to preserve us Independent on any foreign Power, were charg'd with Intrigues to bring us under a French Subjection: In short, all that were not Dissenters and Republicans, or at least their wellwishers, were Jacobites and Papists. The Commons were insulted with a sawcy Libel in the Form of a Petition, and the long Tails, who were charg'd with that wise Commission which was intended to lead up the Brawls for others to follow, were huzza'd by their Mob, and openly entertain'd and caressed in the City, but the House having by a sharp Remedy put a Stop to the Gangreen, so that no mortal was found hardy enough to second it, they were next attack'd in the Devil's Name with a Letter and Memorial, subscrib'd Legion, and from the Lords they could not obtain the Justice they expected on those Offenders they had impeach'd.

The King all this while shew'd no Dislike, but prudently kept himself out of the Briars, and parted with them in very fair Terms, when the Session broke up immediately after which he went into *Holland*, where the Mock-Shew of a Treaty was still carried on, but all things tended to an open Rupture. The Emperor had with an Army under P. Eugene, penetrated into *Italy*; the Dutch were busy in hiring Troops, and fortifying and providing their Frontiers, and the Fleet of the two Maritime Powers rode triumphant on the Ocean.

In this Intrim King James was by Death set free from all his Miseries and Misfortunes, upon which his Son was proclaim'd at *St. Germain's*, and congratulated by the French Court, which empty Title they could not well deny to him, whom they had treated as Prince of *Wales* in his Father's Life Time; whether this Complement was a Breach of the fourth Article of the Peace of *Ryswick*, wherein the French King promis'd, that he would not disturb the King of Great Britain, in his free Possession of his Dom-

nions, that he would not give any Assistance to his Enemies, or favour any Plots against him, and to that End promis'd and engag'd, that he would not assist with Arms, Ammunition, Ships, Provisions or Money, or any other Way by Sea or Land, any Person or Persons who should thereafter disturb or molest the said King of Great Britain, I shall not dispute; but notwithstanding that Article was mutual, K. W. having enter'd into the second grand Alliance nine Days before the Death of K. James, of which the French King might have receiv'd Notice, 'tis probable he by that and the warlike Preparations, finding his British Majesty already so deeply engag'd, might not think it necessary to be over scrupulous in observing further Measures with him; but tho' the grand Alliance was form'd before this new Affront was given, yet upon this the main Stress of the War was afterwards laid, the Earl of Manchester, Ambassador at Paris, was presently recall'd, and numerous Addresseees were from hence sent over to the King, several of them glancing Reflections on the Parliament, which was their chief End and Design, and when his Majesty return'd, the factious Party represented Hist. of K. W. to him the Necessity of calling a new one, urging, that Vol. 3. p. 543. the present would never do his Majesty's Business, nor the Nations, which Language is now very well understood; it was also whisper'd, that the new Favourite had a considerable Present to incline his Majesty to this Advice while he was in Holland.

All these Pains this restless Party took to procure the Dissolution, of as good an English Parliament as ever Sat; after which, Swarms of Whiggish Libels and black Lists, flew about to keep all those they did not like from being again Elected, which Abuses could not but warm the other Party. So that the Elections were generally carried on with great Heat and Fury, yet after all, the Church Party obtain'd a Majority, and Mr. Harley was again placed in the Chair contrary to the King's Desire, who underhand recommended Sir Thomas Littleton, and in vain had closeted Sir George Rooke, Sir Charles Hedges and others to that purpose, the House of Commons in their Address of Thanks for his Majesties Speech, took an Opportunity to vindicate the Commons of the late Parliament, which tho' it seem'd to contain a Squinting Reproach on the Dissolution, was pass'd by; but while the King was employ'd in forming Military Schemes, and the Parliament going on with Unanimity, and Dispatch in furnishing the Supplies to enable him to go thro' with them, it pleas'd God to put a Period to all his great Designs, by calling him out of this Life into a State of Immortality, the 8th of March 1701-2 A Day which made ample amends for the Nations Loss of him by the Advancement of her present most excellent Majesty, to the Throne of her Ancestors before and since; which time the Duty and Affection, the Faction have shewn to her Majesty, will be laid together in the fourth and last Part of these Papers.